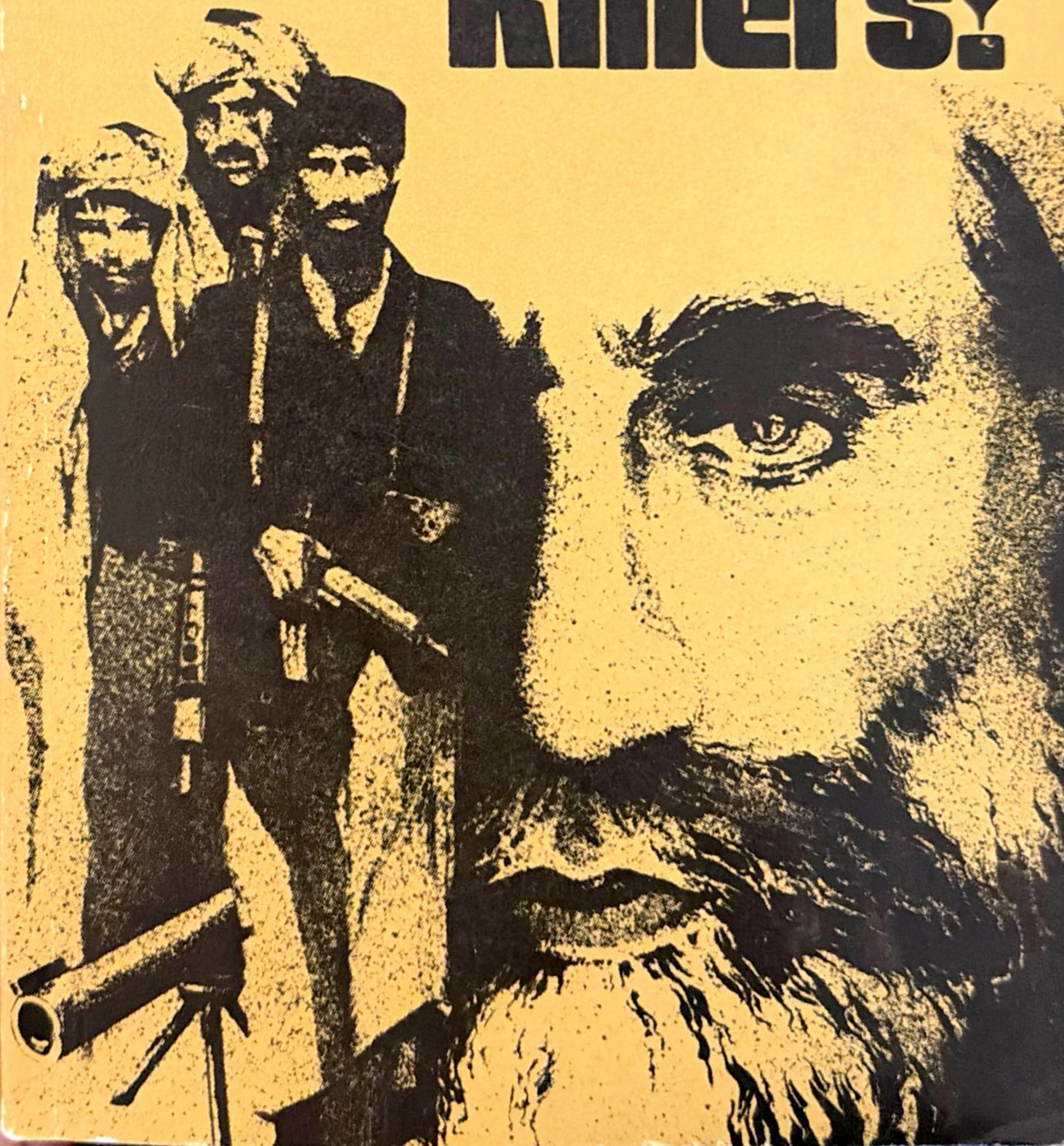
Fighters for the Faith?

No, Hired Killers!



Mikhail
Koloskov

Fighters for the Faith? No, Hired Killers!

They call
themselves
"Mujaheddins",
which means
"fighters for the
faith", but the
people call them
"Ashrars",
meaning
"cutthroats"

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Михаил Колосков
БОРЦЫ ЗА ВЕРУ? НЕТ, НАЕМНЫЕ УБИЙЦЫ!
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The boy cried with pain and horror as his mother and father were killed before his eyes. He rushed to help them, but a big bearded man wearing a turban hit him on the head and he lost consciousness. His wounds have now healed, but he often remembers that dreadful night when bandits, whom people call *ashrars*, broke into their hut in the village of Jawain, in Badakhshan province.

There are many children like Aslauddin in Afghanistan now. I talked to some of them at the Watan boarding school in Kabul where they are in the care of the revolutionary government. Aslauddin, a brown-haired boy with hazel eyes from Jawain, lives there too. His father was stabbed to death for joining a trade union. They killed his mother along with his father just because she was his wife. A small boy by the name of Ismatulla comes from Nangarhar province. His mother and father were killed in front of him—they were killed for refusing to help the bandits. Sakhauddin, from the village of Ubagan, saw the bandits kill his father who had just finished his ablutions before evening prayer. Another boy escaped death by a hair's breadth. Before his eyes the bandits beheaded his father and then proceeded to shoot his mother, two sisters and a brother. There are many orphaned children in Afghanistan.

The list of crimes committed by counter-revolutionary bands is long and continues to grow. These killers and

looters are headed by feudal and tribal chieftains. As mercenaries of imperialism and reaction, they are trying to slow down the march of history in Afghanistan and undo the gains of the democratic revolution.

The people's revolution in April 1978 was the logical outcome of the struggle of progressive and patriotic forces to do away with the country's social and economic backwardness. Before 1978 Afghanistan was one of the poorest countries in the world. With per capita national income of 157 dollars a year, it ranked 108th among the 129 developing countries. More than 90 per cent of its population lived in the countryside where feudal and pre-feudal relations prevailed. Peasants, artisans, workers and small vendors lived in poverty, plagued by hunger, disease and backbreaking work. More than 90 per cent of Afghans were illiterate. Only one-third of all children went to school. The country was torn by class, ethnic, tribal and clan strife. The masses were deprived of the basic democratic rights and liberties proclaimed by secular laws and the Shariat.

In 1973 the monarchy was overthrown. The despotic regime of Mohammad Daud that took its place did nothing to ensure fundamental human rights and failed to resolve social contradictions, which continued to grow and eventually led to the April Revolution. Most Afghans welcomed it.

The new revolutionary government announced a social and economic programme in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population and began to implement it. It abolished the feudal landownership system and cancelled peasants' debts to the feudal landlords totalling 31,000 million afghanis.* It launched a land and water reform and in its initial stage expropriated about 655,000 hectares (about 1,600,000 acres) of land from the largest owners and distributed it among landless and other poor peasants free of charge. The government granted women equal rights with men and launched a literacy campaign. For the first time in Afghan history trade unions began to operate legally.

* 1 dollar equals 50.6 afghanis.

From its very outset the revolution met with bitter and growing resistance from internal reactionaries who were backed by international imperialism. This resistance took different forms, including armed intervention carried out from military bases and strongholds in Pakistan and Iran, with increasing military and financial aid from the United States, its allies and other countries.

Meanwhile, the CIA helped its puppet, Hafizullah Amin, to come to power. Amin unleashed murderous terror and had many dedicated revolutionaries killed, among them Chairman of the Revolutionary Council Nur Mohammad Taraki.

Amin's treachery created the threat of a counter-revolutionary take-over. Furthermore, there was a threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, for imperialist powers were drawing up plans to invade and dismember Afghanistan. But revolutionary and patriotic groups inside the country deposed Amin's bloodthirsty regime and a revolutionary government led by Babrak Karmal came to power. The threat of a counter-revolutionary take-over had been averted, but the danger of a foreign intervention remained. In those circumstances Babrak Karmal's government appealed to the Soviet Union for help, including military help. Even before this Afghanistan had repeatedly asked the Soviet Union to send in a limited army contingent, but the USSR complied with the request only in December 1979, or more than 18 months after the April Revolution. As the Indian press noted at that time, it did so when it became convinced that the Afghan government was facing not an insurrection at home but an invasion incited and financed by foreign powers, which amounted to an undeclared war. Both countries acted in keeping with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and Article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1978, as well as of UN Resolution 387 of March 31, 1976.

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations..."

(From Article 51 of the United Nations Charter)

"Acting in the spirit of traditions of friendship and good-neighbourliness and also the United Nations Charter, the High Contracting Parties will resort to consultations and, given mutual consent, will take appropriate measures to preserve the security, independence and territorial integrity of both countries..."

(From Article 4 of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan)

The Security Council notes "the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States..."

(From UN Security Council resolution 387 of March 31, 1976)

Both countries have repeatedly stated that the limited contingent of Soviet troops will be withdrawn by agreement with the DRA after armed interference and outside aggression have stopped and guarantees have been provided that they will not resume.

The historical necessity of that move is particularly obvious now. It helped to safeguard Afghanistan's national independence and territorial integrity. If foreign and domestic reactionaries had scored a victory, an imperialist stronghold would have been established in the heart of Asia. This would have created a grave threat to all neighbouring countries and the region as a whole. Sober-minded political and public figures in Asian countries realise this all too well.

Imperialist and other reactionary groups are alarmed by the consolidation of the democratic system and the all-round development of the revolutionary process in Afghanistan. Therefore, they have started an undeclared war against it. They have resorted to every means to escalate their war and rely particularly on bands of mercenaries.

Chapter I

Under cover of the Koran

"Do not confound truth with falsehood, nor knowingly hide the truth." (The Koran, sura 2, ayat 39)

The hostility of Afghan counter-revolutionary bands to the DRA stems first and foremost from the social and class background of their leaders. As a rule, they are representatives of the propertied classes who lost their privileges and large estates as the democratic government strengthened its positions. They include feudal chieftains, big landowners, functionaries of the former regime, big merchants and reactionary clergymen.

After losing his land and Peugeot car dealership, Sayed Ahmad Gilani, who considers himself a direct descendant of the Prophet, fled to Pakistan where he founded a "National Front".

After losing his large estates in Badakhshan and astrakhan export business, Burhanuddin Rabbani, as head of the Jamiat-i-Islami, declared war on the democratic government.

After his hopes to inherit his father's large landed estates had been dashed, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar began to form armed groups which carried out attacks against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Sebghatullah Mojaddadi, who owned over 35,000 jeribs* of land, besides windmills and vineyards, refused to give

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* One jerib equals 0.45 hectares (about one acre).

them up and launched a bitter struggle against the revolutionary government.
So it is not for Islam, but for the recovery of their property and capital that the bandit leaders and reactionary clergymen are waging their *jeehad* or holy war. This despite the fact that the Koran and Sunna prohibit the use of the *jeehad* slogans for personal gain or revenge.
By exploiting the political, economic and cultural backwardness of the illiterate masses, counter-revolutionary warlords have formed armed bands, resorting to intimidation, bribes and terror. These bands operate from the territory of Pakistan and Iran where they have their headquarters, and they call themselves "parties".
Every such "party" is a self-contained unit with its own leadership, headquarters, armed groups and underground bases on Afghan territory. It is impossible to estimate their membership. For one reason, the bandit leaders exaggerate their actual strength. For another, as T. Osman, political advisor of one such organisation, has told *Le Monde*, many have been joining several "parties" at once in order to obtain membership cards for which they can receive food and clothing. The counter-revolutionary groups hold vastly divergent political views. Most of them say that they are "fighting against the infidel". In actual fact, however, they are fighting for the restoration of feudal despotism in Afghanistan. The most typical of them are described below.

"PROFESSOR" RABBANI AND HIS FOLLOWING

It was a sunny August day in Kabul. A crowd of passengers were waiting to board the plane at the airport. There were dignified-looking bearded men in long shirts, women wearing bright, national costumes with babies in their arms, old men in white turbans, and students on their way back to school.
A powerful blast ripped through the building and turned it into an inferno. People were moaning and crying, buried under the debris of glass and concrete. The explosion killed 27 people, wounded more than 200 and caused damage to

property worth millions of afghanis. Those responsible were soon apprehended with the help of local people. They turned out to be members of underground counter-revolutionary organisations in Kabul led by a certain Abdel Wahed, the leader of a band belonging to the Jamiat-i-Islami Afghanistan (Islamic Society of Afghanistan). The group was founded by Afghan emigres in Pakistan back in 1976 to fight against Daud, who, after deposing the king, proclaimed a republic in the interests of the capitalist elite. In the opinion of the Jamiat-i-Islami leaders, Daud was too "left-wing". Since the April 1978 Revolution the group has been waging a bitter struggle against the democratic government. It keeps in touch with representatives of Western countries and receives military and financial aid from them. The ideological and political platform of Jamiat-i-Islami is based on the dogmas of Islam, which are interpreted in such a way as to justify the seizure and exercise of power by propertied classes. These aims are camouflaged with the slogan of "fighting against the infidel". The group's programme is of a markedly religious character; it is based on the Koran and theological literature. Although it says that all "infidel" are enemies, members of the group regard Western representatives as allies and seek aid from them.
Western special services willingly assist Jamiat-i-Islami, providing it with weapons, money and instructors. As soon as the bandits had requested a consignment of mines for the bands led by Ahmad-Shah Masood in Panjshir, the mines were delivered from ammunition depots in the United States and West Germany with their US markings removed.
Jamiat-i-Islami bandits taken prisoner in Panjshir have testified that bands operating on Afghan territory included foreign advisors—an American who called himself Billy Stone, an Englishman who went under the name of Sandy Goul, and several others, among them mining engineers who helped to develop emerald fields. All local people were forced to work; those who could not or refused to work were shot dead. Mined emeralds were shipped to Jamiat-i-Islami headquarters in Peshawar.
Formally, the emeralds are used to buy arms and ammunition but nobody knows how much of the money has been

pocketed by the band bosses and a CIA representative known as Michael Berry. Jamiat-i-Islami has also smuggled out lazurite, which is mined in Badakhshan province. British special services are known to have been involved in this business.

Like other bandit groups, Jamiat-i-Islami is an organisation of terrorists and looters. Membership in this organisation is based on unquestioning subordination and a readiness to commit any crime in the fight against "the infidel". The promised reward is paradise in the afterlife. Article 9 of the Jamiat-i-Islami Rules says: "...our struggle against the infidel will be long and hard. Those who will live to see the victory and those who will die on the road to it will all get to Paradise..."

There is a large Shiite faction in Jamiat-i-Islami. It leans towards Iran where it has offices in the towns of Qum, Mashhad, Zahedan, Tehran, Zabol, Isfahan, Birjand and Shiraz.

The organiser and ringleader of Jamiat-i-Islami Afghanistan is Burhanuddin Rabbani who calls himself a "professor" because he once lectured at the Theology Department of Kabul University.

In his younger days Rabbani was put through his paces in the arch-reactionary organisation Muslim Brothers (Akhwan-ul-Muslimeen). He was an extremist even in his attitude toward the monarchy and had instigated lootings and demonstrations. He fled to Pakistan for fear of persecution and arrest. There he set up his group and secured the backing of Western powers and reactionary Arab regimes. As a CIA agent (this was confirmed by his accomplice, Abdul Wahed, at a press conference in Kabul on July 29, 1984), Burhanuddin Rabbani tried to use his network in Iran to promote US interests but was caught redhanded. As a result, an office of his group in Khorosan was closed down and the Iranian authorities stepped up surveillance over Jamiat-i-Islami members. They arrested Rabbani's son and confiscated from him $500,000 which had been collected for Afghan refugees. According to the authorities, he was going to use the money to buy real estate in Western Europe. But the son is a petty swindler compared to his father. Having lost large landed estates in Badakhshan and

Kabul and his astrakhan and rugs export business, Burhanuddin Rabbani is trying to make up for his losses by falsifying Jamiat-i-Islami accounts and smuggling lazurite and emeralds out of Afghanistan. He is reported to have large bank accounts in Oman and Japan.

HOW "ENGINEER" HEKMATYAR DEFENDS ISLAM

"...First they beheaded the father, Abdurahman, before the eyes of his children. Then they shot dead the mother and murdered the elder daughter, Rabea, and then little Sofia and Fazlur Rahman..."

This is an eyewitness account of a massacre of a peasant family in Nangarhar province. Abdurahman was "guilty" of accepting a plot of land allotted by the government to poor peasants. The murderers belonged to a group that calls itself Hizbi-i-Islami Afghanistan (Islamic Party of Afghanistan). With their atrocities they claim to be defending Islam from the infidel.

The backbone of the group is made up of extremists from the Afghan branch of the international organisation Muslim Brothers. The stated aim of Hizbi-i-Islami is to overthrow the democratic government in Afghanistan and establish an "Islamic republic". But the ambitions of this "party" and its leader, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, are not confined to Afghanistan. In his interviews with Western magazines Hekmatyar has repeatedly spoken of his intention to liberate his "brothers in faith" in the Soviet Central Asian republics. This blend of impudence and hypocrisy is characteristic of all the activities of the "party". It is especially evident in its programme which plays not only on the deep religious beliefs of the people, but also on their age-long yearning for equality and justice.

The programme speaks of strict observance of the principles of Islam and the teaching of the righteous caliphs; it calls for the complete abolition of all forms of oppression and exploitation, the eradication of all vices, the banning of torture, and the establishment of justice in all areas of life. How have these promises been carried out?

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar: "For every soldier killed—7,000 afghanis."

The programme calls for the stamping out of bribery In reality, bribery is rife at refugee camps controlled by the "party". For a bribe one can obtain a passport and leave Pakistan to work and earn some money in Arab countries. For a bribe one can live in Peshawar instead of roughing it in the dusty camps. For a bribe one can receive food and clothing provided as foreign aid. Everything is bought and sold There is a special pay rate for murder. According to two former bandits from Hizbi-i-Islami, Abdul Gaffar and Nazrullah, the "party" leader, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, has set the following pay rate: 5,000-7,000 afghanis for every soldier of the Afghan army killed; 10,000-15,000 afghanis for the murder of a party activist; 30,000 afghanis for the murder of an officer of the People's Army, etc

The programme calls for the banning of torture But the bandits are responsible for thousands of cases of brutal torture and murder It was Hizbi-i-Islami that proudly presented photographs to Western correspondents showing "communist teachers" being dragged to their execution with their feet tied to the bumpers of lorries. The Western press did not publicise the pictures, apparently to spare the readers' nerves. Hizbi-s-Islami informed the UPI agency that its members had captured the Spinzar cotton mill and

"committed to flames" all "communist-minded" workers. Hizbi-i-Islami has its own punitive bodies—a judicial committee and the Sakhar security service which jails and tortures people suspected of having dissenting views or of being critical of Hekmatyar

The programme calls for the implementation of the principle of justice in all spheres of economic life. But while Hekmatyar and his entourage live in luxury, with their villas and limousines, thousands of ordinary refugees live in poverty in crowded camps; Hekmatyar's bands saddle the Afghan population with taxes and fines, which are a particularly heavy burden on the peasants, and deal brutally with those who are unable to pay When a peasant by the name of Ahmad Naim of the village of Buasus. in Qunduz province, begged the leader of a band, Sheer-Mamad, not to take away his last sack of rice, for his children would starve to death. Sheer-Mamad laughed. saying that this could be settled easily: and ordered all six children to be shot This is how the "principle of economic justice" is carried out by Hizbi-i-Islami

Although he boasts of "self-reliance" Hekmatyar has long been collaborating with the CIA and Pakistani secret services A certain Sanjar leader of an underground Hizbi-i-Islami base who had been arrested in Kabul, has testified that some of the subversive literature he distributed came from Pakistan and the rest from the embassies of Western countries, along with instructions.

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar is one of the most despicable figures in the camp of Afghan counter-revolution. His father was a landlord and moneylender. who lent money at so high an interest that he earned the nickname of "jackal"

Like father, like son. At school Gulbuddin was nicknamed "bastard" for his treacherous and cruel nature. His father had wanted him to follow a military career, but after three years at a military school he was expelled for homosexuality After muddling through a regular school, Hekmatyar enrolled in the Engineering Department of Kabul University where he joined the Muslim Youth. an organisation closely connected with the Muslim Brothers. In its ranks he came into his own as a politico, spy and killer. When still a student Hekmatyar was recruited by the

CIA. On its instructions he opened a typewriter repair shop in the building that housed the offices of the newspaper *Parcham*, the organ of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. There he could spy on the Party's activities. For his involvement in the assassination of several progressive students he was arrested, but set free by the police chief, Gul Ahmad, after he had been recruited as a police informer. Thus he began to serve two masters. And after fleeing to Pakistan he also got on the payroll of Pakistani secret services.

Hekmatyar has been on somebody's payroll all his life, but his main boss has always been the CIA. In 1979 he was told by the CIA to open talks with the traitor Hafizullah Amin who had wormed himself into a position of power and was planning a coup in Kabul. Amin was to become President, while Hekmatyar was to be the Prime Minister. According to the CIA plan, Hekmatyar was to head a puppet regime fully dependent on the United States. But the plan aborted when Amin was ousted.

A demagogue and fanatic, Hekmatyar is able to attract attention with his hysterical rhetoric. He seems to emulate Hitler. Being mentally unstable (he suffers from paranoia), Hekmatyar can be extremely cruel. Gulam Mustapha, a refugee who once lived in a camp near Parachinar, told how Hekmatyar, enraged by an attack on one of his aides, had about a hundred refugees herded together and personally shot them with a submachine gun. During an inspection trip to "his" training camp, Hekmatyar ordered eight men to be hanged publicly for objecting to maltreatment by their instructors and Pakistani military officers.

Hekmatyar recognises none but dictatorial methods of leadership. Coupled with his boundless arrogance and intolerance, this makes him dangerous not only to his underlings but to the ringleaders of rival groups. He has always insisted that any alliances set up by the bandit groups should be headed by himself and his "party"

A hypocrite and demagogue, Hekmatyar likes to talk about "social justice" and his struggle for a new kind of Islamic state in which, he claims, there will be no exploitation, corruption, debauchery, deception or cruelty. He brandishes a little green book which sets out the Hizbi-i-Islami

programme with these promises. But he himself openly violates all these lofty principles. Ensconced in Peshawar, he has pocketed vast sums intended as aid for the refugees. His aides have been selling most of the medicines, food and clothing at the bazaars. Valuables looted by his bands on Afghan territory also end up in his hands, and he sells them in jewelry shops he has bought for the purpose (in Shahibzade Abdul Qayum Road, in Peshawar). The merchandise includes earrings torn out of the ears of victims and necklaces ripped off with their skin. At the shops gold teeth taken from victims are melted down. With the money he obtained Hekmatyar has started a large business and has bought several factories. He owns a transport bureau with 400 rickshaws. Nor has he refrained from crooked deals: after one such deal involving a consignment of Mercedes cars he deposited $400,000 on his bank account in Switzerland. While assuming the pose of a pious Muslim and a fighter for the "Kingdom of Islam" Hekmatyar exports many tons of narcotics to Arab countries. He owns heroin factories in the Dara Adamheil region.

That "fighter for social justice and equality" lives in posh mansions and drives expensive limousines. His love affairs and drunken orgies have become so notorious that the Jamiat-i-Islami magazine *Shaheed* has carried a special story about them.

While posing as a "defender of Islam" Hekmatyar is in reality a criminal, hypocrite and bloodthirsty despot.

WHAT IS RIGHTEOUS ABOUT HIM?

There is another Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hizbi-i-Islami Afghanistan), led by Yunus Khalis. It was founded in Pakistan in 1978 after a split in Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's group. The split was put down to tactical or even political differences. Actually it was a routine quarrel between bandit leaders.

Yunus Khalis' group is characterised by extreme conservatism. Its rather vague programme calls for the establishment of a system in Afghanistan on the principles of "Islamic social justice". Here is an example of its "justice" In the

summer of 1983 Khalis' bandits forbade the peasants of a village in Helmand province to do fieldwork. Two peasants objected and were brutally murdered. There are many examples like this.

The group's leader, Mohammad Yunus, goes under the nickname of Khalis, which means "righteous". He is the only one among the bandit warlords who personally takes part in gory raids into Afghan territory. His cruelty is notorious. A rabid Pushtu nationalist, he looks down upon other Afghan tribes and ethnic groups.

Mohammad Yunus comes of a clerical background and makes a show of his ostensibly pious way of life. At the age of 63 he married an 18-year-old girl and was ridiculed even by his own followers. He never misses an opportunity to increase his bank accounts in Pakistan and the United States.

An arrested bandit named Wali Mohammad has said about Yunus: "He and his underlings taught me nothing but terrorism, murder and how to create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty in Afghanistan..."

Such is the "righteous" man Mohammad Yunus and his "party".

AND THAT IS CALLED A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT?

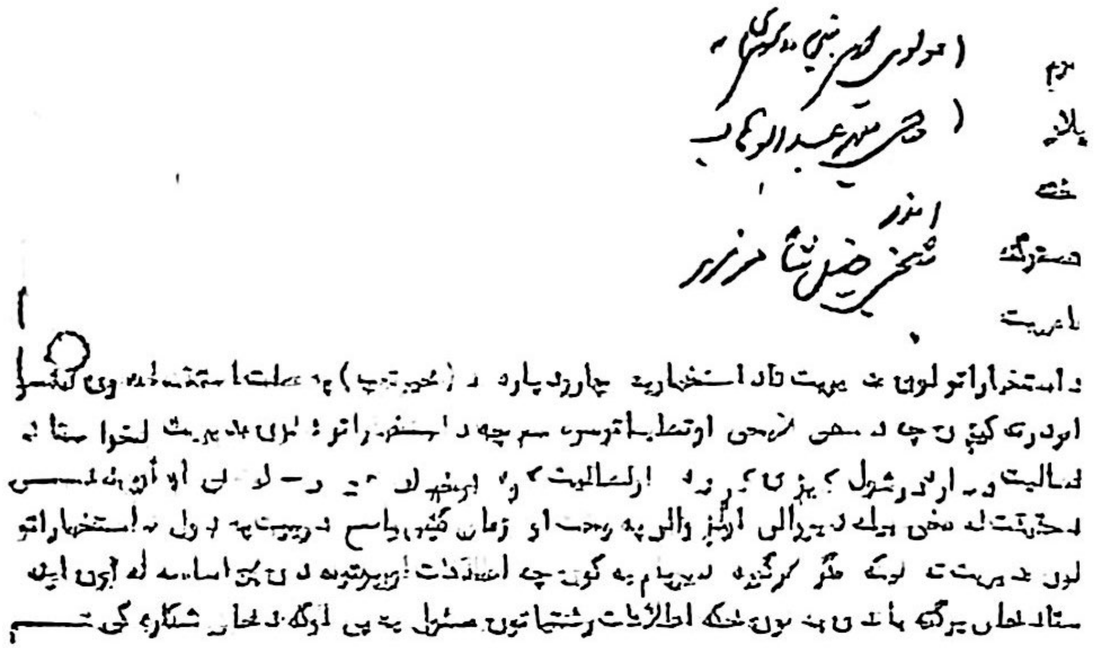
A teacher of a state school was forbidden by bandits to conduct classes. When he refused to submit they put out both eyes of his son. The incident occurred in Kunar province in July 1981. The bandits belonged to a group that calls itself Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan (Harakat-i-Inqilabi Islamie Afghanistan). The group was founded in Pakistan in June 1978 by Afghan emigres belonging to the right-wing Islamic organisation Servants of Koran. It unites reactionary Afghan clergymen and representatives of the middle class. In its appeal entitled *What We Want* the group promises to establish "justice", to set up "a people's Parliament", etc. It calls for an "Islamic revival", and its platform is similar to that of

Mohammad Nabi and his bands are notorious for their cruelty.

Hizbi-i-Islami although there has been much friction between the two groups which at times turns into hostility. Members of the group have committed such atrocities, resorting to violence and looting, that even Hekmatyar has called them "desecrators of Islam".

Harakat-i-Inqilabi is an organisation of Orthodox Sunni who are hostile to bandit groups of the Shiite faith, and there have been frequent shootouts between them. It clearly leans towards Pushtu nationalism.

The founder and leader of Harakat-i-Inqilabi is Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, a religious fanatic active in many reactionary organisations such as the Muslim Brothers, the Servants of Koran and others. He is a very ambitious man. At one time he won a seat in Parliament. During Daud's rule he was recruited by the secret police and spied on the clergy, giving away opponents of the regime. After the April Revolution he fled to Pakistan where he began to conduct subversive acts against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Being a Sunni, he receives much financial aid from reactionary Arab regimes. But most of his funds are provided by Kafirs, or the infidels, including Washington, Bonn, London and Peking. This money has often proved a bone of contention within his group. In 1981, during a sharing-out of the money there was a split



"You will report in your dispatches everything you see and hear..." A photocopy of Nabi's pledge to collaborate with the secret police.

and a large group headed by N. Mansoor walked out on M. Nabi after accusing him of "misappropriating the funds". While paying lip service to "Islamic justice and equality", M. Nabi lives in luxury at his organisation's expense. In April 1984, he visited the Jangal camp in Pakistan and was confronted by an angry crowd of refugees who accused him of having posh cars and villas. The meeting ended in a brawl and Pakistani police had to intervene.

Though it campaigns under the slogan of "Islamic justice" Harakat-i-Inqilabi is in reality a bunch of bandits and looters. In Laghman province they imposed a water tax of 50,000 afghanis on the inhabitants of Guman community, threatening to destroy the dam and fill up sources of drinking water with earth if the tax was not paid. The people scraped together 20,000 afghanis for the bandits. Another band, headed by Mohammad Ghia, on June 17, 1983, forcibly took away about 3,000 tons of wheat from the peasants of the Girani village, in Farah province.

Harakat-i-Inqilabi invites foreign advisors and instructors to take up command positions, preferring in this respect

Kafirs from the United States, West Germany, France and China. US, West German and Egyptian instructors are in charge of the camp known as Regiment Babu, near Peshawar; British, French and Pakistani advisors, of the Arbob-Rudah camp; and Chinese advisors, of the Juma camp

In the community of Shoolgari, in Balkh province, a Harakat-i-Inqilabe bandit called Muso Mohammad broke into the house of a man by the name of Karim, threw his wife and small daughter into a well, then showed "mercy" and shot them with a submachine gun.

And that is called a "revolutionary movement"?

SAINT AND BUSINESSMAN ROLLED INTO ONE

The Mahaze Mellie Afghanistan (National Front of Afghanistan) was founded in Pakistan at the end of 1978 by a group of European-educated Afghan emigres. It is dominated by former large landowners and government officials. They have a fierce hatred for the April Revolution and the progressive reforms carried out by the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Their leaders are markedly pro-Western and are closely connected with the secret services of the United States, Britain, Israel and Egypt. On the advice of these services, they conduct a more flexible policy and profess a readiness to negotiate with other "parties" and arrive at compromises. In their programme they call for "democracy based on the laws of Islam and nationalism" and the setting up of an Islamic parliamentary republic in Afghanistan. The group is also in favour of bringing Zahir Shah, Afghanistan's former king, back to the throne.

Although it condemns other counter-revolutionary groups for their religious fanaticism and extremism, Mahaze Mellie is itself a terrorist organisation waging an undeclared war against the DRA.

Mahaze Mellie is headed by Sayed Ahmad Gilani who claims to be a descendant of Prophet Mohammad. It is known, however, if only by a few people, that on his

mother's side he is the offspring of a German policeman. His father, S. A. Gilani, married Maria Richter, the daughter of a German policeman, when he studied in Germany. Despite his origin, Gilani is considered an heir to the leader of the Qadariya sect of Islam and carries the title of a pir, or a saint. That "saint" used to hang around the royal court. He married the king's granddaughter and became his unofficial personal advisor. Gilani was one of the country's richest landowners and a big businessman. He kept abreast of the times. He owned a large department store in Kabul and was a representative and the largest shareholder of the French Peugeot car concern in Afghanistan. His property was estimated at $7,000,000. When it was nationalised, he fled to Pakistan and there began to take his revenge on the democratic government. His ancestors on the paternal side had had close ties with British intelligence. He went further and became an agent of the Americans as well.

Gilani often travels abroad, especially to the United States. He has repeatedly addressed US Congressional committees. The "saint" is doing good business on the blood and suffering of his fellow countrymen. His group's headquarters in Peshawar is run by graduates of the Washington-based International Police Academy and a Texas school for saboteurs, both institutions being set up by the CIA to train its foreign agents in developing countries. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the real leader of the National Front of Afghanistan is the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States.

A FRONT TO SALVAGE FEUDAL PRIVILEGES

Yet another group came into being in Pakistan in 1978—Jabhaye Nijate Mellie Afghanistan (National Salvation Front of Afghanistan, sometimes translated as a National Liberation Front).

The leaders of the "front" represent the clerical and feudal elite and are mainly concerned to further their class interests, exploiting their *murids*, or supporters, most of them illiterate, and people of lowly origin whom they deceived

into following them into exile. Like other counter-revolutionary groups, the "front" seeks Western backing. It becomes dependent on the West and is turned into a tool of the latter's policies, though to "save face" it juggles with pseudo-Islamic slogans. Thus, according to its programme, its aim is to "establish an Islamic society based on law, justice and equality and on democratic traditions". But what are its deeds?

A bandit by the name of Sohi Mohammad, arrested by the security forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has testified that before he and his group were sent into the DRA, they were addressed by the "front's" leader, S. Mojaddadi, who told them to "blow up everything—schools, houses and mosques, and kill all supporters of the new government and their wives and children". He absolved all bandits from their sins in advance.

Sebghatullah Mojaddadi, the ringleader of the National Salvation Front, comes from a long line of theologians. He boasts of belonging to a religious clan, which, incidentally, had actively collaborated with the British colonialists (a member of the clan, Hazrat-e-Shorbazar, was involved in the 1929 British-instigated overthrow of Amanullah Khan, an outstanding Afghan reformer and nationalist).

In keeping with the clan's traditions, S. Mojaddadi fiercely opposed even the mild reforms carried out by the Afghan royal regime. He helped to found the Afghan branch of the Muslim Brothers. After fleeing Afghanistan, S. Mojaddadi visited many other countries, including the United States. The CIA took note of him and contacted him through its agent, Bashir Zakria. Shorbazar betrayed his people to the British; his descendant, S. Mojaddadi, is betraying his people to the United States.

• • •

All major groups of Afghan counter-revolution based in Pakistan have branches on Iranian territory too. These supervise the recruiting and training of mercenaries at special camps where instruction is conducted by Iranian servicemen.

Members of these branches move freely backwards and forwards between Iran and Pakistan. Iranian leaders provide assistance in training and arming the bandits. In order to export "Islamic revolution" to Afghanistan, they have actively helped to form several Afghan emigre groups, mostly Shiites, on Iranian territory. The largest groups are the NASR (renamed the Fighting Clergy Organisation), Harakate Islamie Afghanistan (Afghan Islamic Movement), Niruye Islami (Islamic Force), and Hezbollah (Party of Allah).

With the help of these groups, Tehran is training terrorists and saboteurs for operation inside Afghanistan.

Since 1979 there have been repeated attempts to unite the bandit groups. The CIA is particularly interested in this and hopes that some kind of a "united national front" can be created. There are several CIA plans for setting up a puppet "Afghan government" in exile which Washington could use for its own military and political purposes. These plans, however, have all failed mostly because of the deep rifts among the bandits.

The leaders of rebel groups are divided by serious differences arising from personal rivalry and a thirst for power and wealth. *The New York Times* (March 4, 1980) noted that too many rebel leaders saw themselves in the role of a new Afghan ayatollah and were disinclined to abandon this dream for the practical advantages of cooperating with one another.

Each group claims to be the sole representative of "Afghan resistance" and tries to consolidate its positions at the expense of rival organisations, waging a secret and at times an open struggle involving the use of arms against the others. For this reason all alliances of Afghan rebel groups have proved unstable and short-lived.

DESECRATORS OF ISLAM

Early in the morning every day, as many centuries ago, one can hear the voices of *muedzins* in Kabul calling Muslims to prayer. Religion and the Muslim clergy played and continue to play an important role in the country's political and social life.

The Council of Ulemas of Afghanistan, which exercises leadership of the country's clergy, welcomed the April Revolution and the progressive reforms announced by the new government. The democratic government was also supported by low-ranking clergymen in Kabul and the provinces. But it was opposed by high-ranking reactionary clergymen, especially those who held shares in business firms or owned large landed estates. After losing their privileges, they began a fierce struggle against the democratic government and became the leaders of reactionary groups.

All major counter-revolutionary groupings declare themselves "fighters for the faith" and "defenders of Islam" and say that their chief aim is to fight against "atheists" and "desecrators of Islam". Playing on the deep religious feelings of the Afghan people, they try to justify their actions by asserting that Islam in Afghanistan is under threat. Dr. Said Afghani, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Ulemas of the DRA, said in an interview in 1984: "The actions of the enemies of the republic are easy to explain. After advancing the slogan of defending Islam following

A bomb explosion at a Shiite prayer house

the revolution, they soon realised that there was nobody to defend it from. The democratic government has ensured believers extensive rights and is assisting clergymen. It thus becomes necessary for them to invent stories about people being persecuted for their faith. In this way they can raise a hue and cry and accuse the revolution of 'harassing and terrorising believers and closing down temples'."

A prominent religious figure, moulavi Abdul Gaffar Fergani, has told journalists: "From the very beginning the new government declared that it would respect, protect and ensure freedom of religious worship. This promise has been consistently carried out. The government provides every assistance to patriotic clergymen in exercising their duties. Through the Department for the Affairs of Islam it has established good pay for theologians and is helping clergymen to improve their living conditions."

Respect for Islam and freedom of conscience are proclaimed in the country's interim constitution. The government pays salaries to the imams of mosques and fully covers the expenses of Muslim schools. Justice in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is administered on the basis of Islamic principles. The government provides material assistance to pilgrims making a *hadj* to Mecca. It allocated 272 million afghanis for this purpose in 1983 alone. In recent years in Kabul as many as 57 new mosques have been built and 527 repaired.

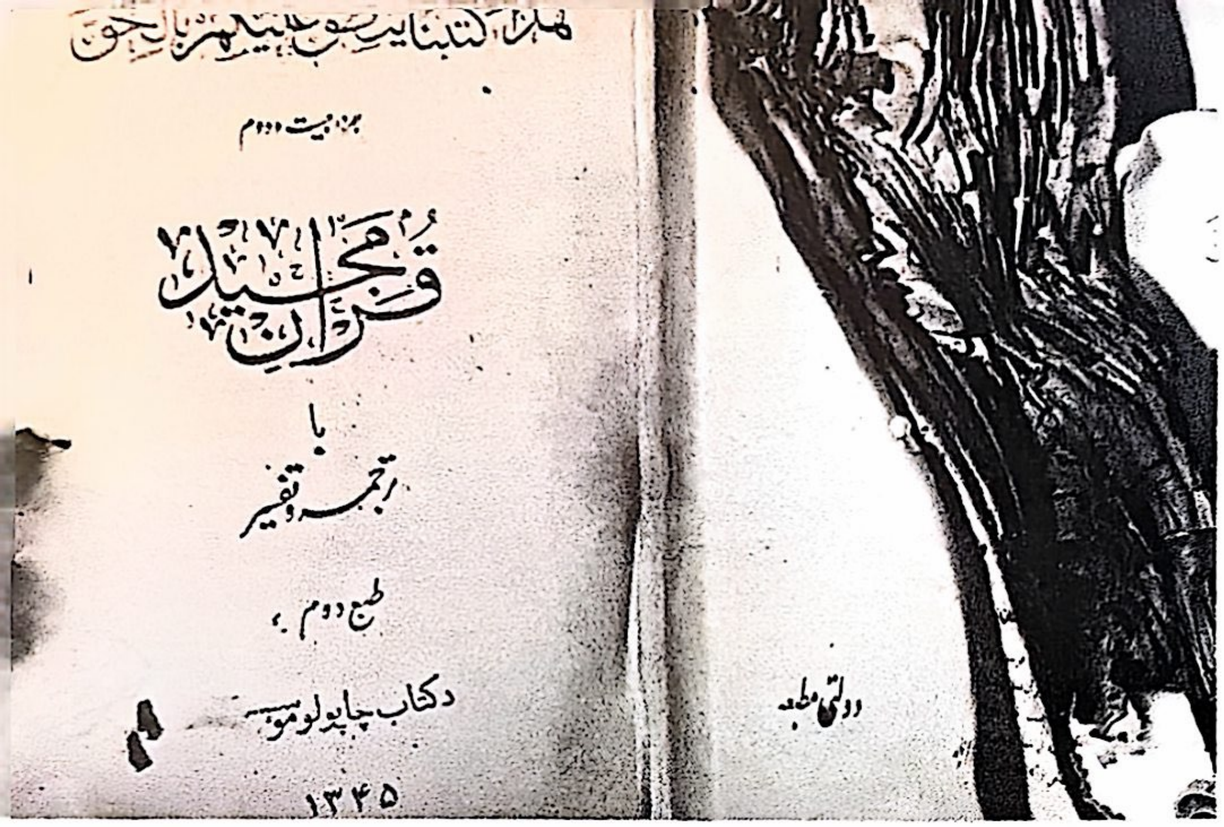
Respect for Islam is seen in the preservation of Muslim symbols in the state flag in the form of a green strip, and in the emblem of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the form of a *mehrab* (a niche in the wall of a mosque turned towards Mecca) and a *minbar* (a Muslim pulpit). All Muslim holidays are marked in the country. Classes in school begin with the reading of the Koran. By a special decision, the Revolutionary Council guarantees that all land belonging to Islamic shrines, mosques, madrasas and holy places should be exempted from government expropriation, and surplus land owned by theologians, imams and khatybs should remain their property.

"Defenders of the faith" have been exposed for what they are by working Muslims in Afghanistan. The Supreme Council of Ulemas has unmasked the bandits as enemies of

Islam, pointing out that they enjoy the particular support of US imperialists. The peoples of the Muslim world have learned from experience that the United States has plundered the national wealth of Muslim countries and has set them one against another in an attempt to dominate them. The United States is inciting Zionist Israel to commit aggression against Arab states and jointly with it has worked out plans for intervention in their internal affairs by means of force. "Do collaborators with the United States have the right to call themselves 'defenders of Islam'?" it is said in a statement issued by the Supreme Council of Ulemas.

Bandits, armed and trained by the Americans, are trampling on the Koran, violating Islamic traditions and distorting Shariat laws. The Koran says that every liar shall be scourged. But counter-revolutionaries deliberately slander the policy of the democratic government and lie about the purpose of the temporary presence of Soviet troops on Afghan territory, accusing the Soviet Union of wanting forcibly to "eradicate Islam", destroy mosques and forbid believers to pray. Attempts are made to scare people with talk about "godless plans of communist collectivisation" whereby houses, utensils, wives and children will allegedly become common property. In the village of Shegal, in Kunar province, men were taken in by propaganda leaflets alleging that Soviet soldiers were taking away Muslim wives and daughters, and frantically began to kill their women, young and old.

The bandits have murdered not only women, children and elderly people, but also clergymen. In the village of Musa Qala, in Helmand province, they killed the local moulavi, Abdul Salam, when he tried, with the Koran in hand, to prevent killings and looting. Sher Agha, a peasant of the village of Ludin Shah, told how bandits killed his uncle and nephew who were clergymen. When his sister pleaded for mercy, they murdered her too. The Koran says: "He that kills a believer by design shall burn in Hell forever. He shall incur the wrath of Allah, who will lay His curse on him and prepare for him a woeful scourge" (Sura 4, ayat 95). The counter-revolutionaries have killed more than 210 prominent religious figures, including moulavi Abdul Hameed,



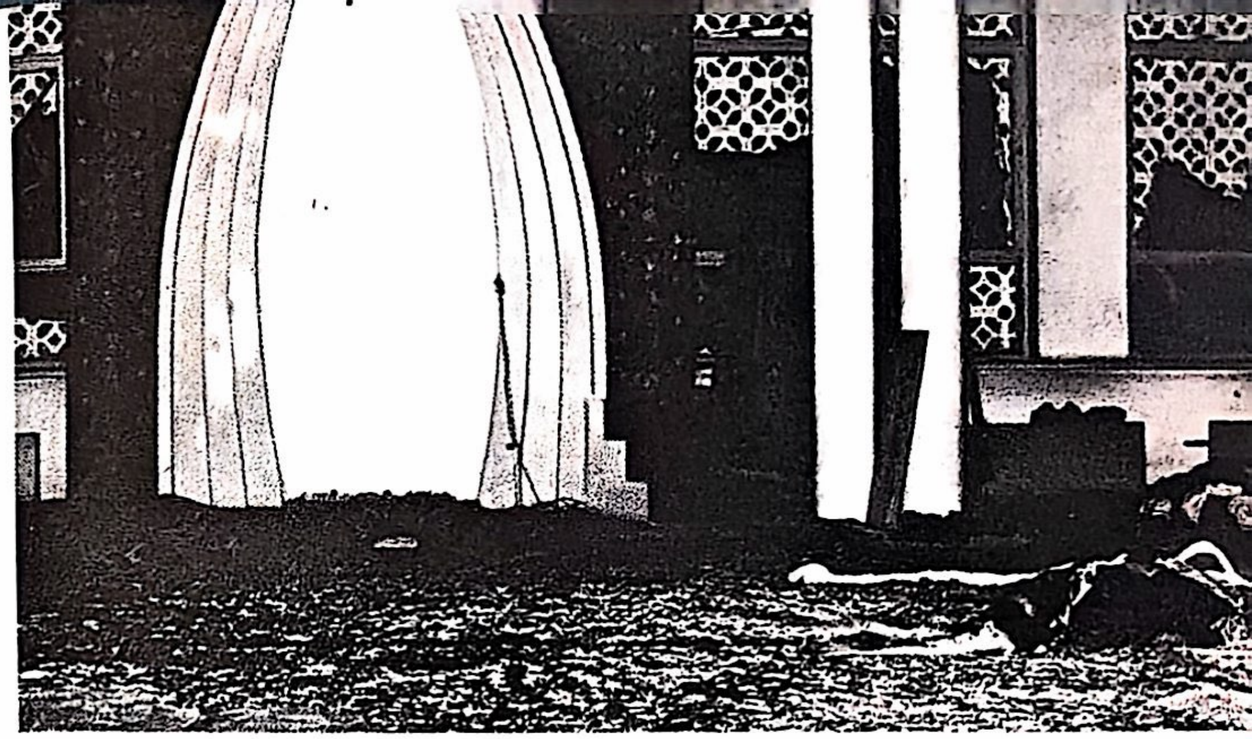
Thousands of copies of the Koran have been destroyed by fire.

who was much revered in Kabul. In the town of Ghazni they beheaded mullah Ghulam Siddiki. The bandits' terror is directed not only against clergymen who support the policy of the democratic government, but also against those who show their loyalty to the government and refuse to help the bandits in carrying out their evil deeds. Here is just one example of this.

On November 5, 1982, in the mosque of the Karatosh village, near the town of Tulukan, bandits killed mullah Nasruddin during prayer for preaching obedience to the authorities. They also killed eight peasants present at the prayer.

Most of the clergy from poor families support the revolution. This includes moulavi Aqa Mohammad Lodin, Sayed Mohammad Amin Sader, sheikh Sayed Kamal Abbasy, moulavi Abdul Majeed and many others who died at the bandits' hands for refusing to serve an unjust cause.

In July 1980 Kabul hosted the first ever national conference of ulemas. One of its participants, moulavi Nasrullah Gardizi, was attacked by a band after returning home. The moulavi and his brother died in the battle after



The mosque of the Polytechnical Institute in Kabul after a bomb explosion.

killing four bandits. A book has been published in Kabul entitled *Martyred for the Cause of the Truth,* which describes the heroism of many clergymen who remained loyal to the people's interests to the last minutes of their lives.

It is in vain that bandits and their ringleaders are trying to present themselves as true defenders of the Islamic faith and of Muslims.

In Kabul bandits burned down the Baihaqi library which contained many religious books. In the city of Kunduz they burned down a school with 400 volumes of the Holy Koran. Thousands of volumes of the Koran were destroyed when bandits set fire to a printing shop in the town of Mazar-i-Sharif.

For provocative purposes, the self-styled "defenders of the faith" are destroying places sacred to true Muslims—mazars and mosques. They have tried to blow up a famous mosque in Mazar-i-Sharif and a Muslim shrine—the tomb of Hazrat Ali. They have exploded bombs in several mosques in Kabul. A blast in the mosque of the Polytechnical Institute during an evening prayer attended by clergymen from all over Afghanistan killed four clergymen and seriously injured seventeen. Within a period of seven years bandits destroyed more than 250 mosques.

According to the Supreme Council of Ulemas of the DRA, in the period from March 1981 to March 1984 the democratic government spent 184 million afghanis to repair and restore mosques that had been destroyed or damaged by counter-revolutionary bandits. Babrak Karmal has every right to say: "It is we, and not the counter-revolutionary scum, that protect the religious rights of the Afghan people."

Chapter II

Against their own people

"The damage done to the country by the actions of counter-revolutionaries runs to tens of billions of dollars."
(From a speech by Babrak Karmal at the Loya Jirgah in April 1985)

The main groups of counter-revolutionaries—conspiratorial paramilitary organisations—are fighting against the Afghan people from bases and strongholds in Pakistan and Iran. Long borders and mountainous terrain make it easy for groups of gunmen to cross into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The border with Pakistan, for instance, stretches for 2,180 kilometres (1,400 miles).

The bandits avoid direct confrontations with government forces. Their tactics is based on acts of terror and subversion carried out by small groups. The boastful promises of their leaders to "start an uprising" or provoke "popular unrest" have remained unfulfilled. Now they are concentrating their attention on disrupting the country's economic life and intimidating the population.

Long torn from peaceful work, the bandits have got used to cruelty and lawlessness and have become professional killers ready to commit any crime.

Looting, for instance, is made legal. Article 13 of an order issued by the military committee of the so-called Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan in 1363 (1984) says: "By decision of the Islamic Committee, one-third of booties is distributed among Islamic soldiers who took part in the seizure of these booties, and the rest goes to the Islamic Military Committee [i.e. to Pakistan]."

Bandit leaders order their underlings to attack non-military

targets, causing casualties among women, children and elderly people. Their aims are as follows:
— to create a general feeling of fear and uncertainty and make people reject the new reforms and withdraw their support for the revolutionary government;
— to weaken the social base of the revolution by victimising factory workers and peasants and assassinating Party activists, government officials and cultural workers;
— to paralyse the economy by destroying transport and other facilities with bomb explosions, arson and acts of sabotage;
— to undo the revolutionary gains by destroying cooperatives, trade unions and self-government bodies, burning down schools and hospitals, and killing teachers, students, doctors, and peasants who have received land under the new reform.

TERROR IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

"It was late in the afternoon. We were still in the field when about seven men approached us. They carried rifles and submachine guns. The *ashrars* had several dogs and began to kill them before our eyes, one dog on each plot. They shot them and cut them to pieces with spades. They made us watch. Then one of them said: 'We'll do this to you if you work in the field. Go home and stay there.' We wanted to bury the dogs but they wouldn't let us. 'Look at them and see what'll happen to you if you disobey us.'" The story was told by peasants in the village of Pimasharfkhan, in Kabul province. This is how the bandits try to keep peasants from working the land they have received from the democratic government.
The counter-revolutionaries' bitter opposition to the land and water reform is not based on religious considerations, as they insistently claim, but is of a social character. Before the revolution 40,000 landowners possessed 73 per cent of all farmland, while about half a million peasants had no land at all. As a rule, the landowners leased their land and demanded more than half the harvest as payment. The reform overthrew feudal rule in the countryside: more than

Murdered for accepting land from the democratic government.

300,000 landless and other poor peasants and nomads have now received land.
The reform had just got under way when counter-revolutionary bands began to carry out raids from Pakistan and Iran. They burned down peasants' huts, unleashing a campaign of terror and violence. They set fire to land reform offices and destroyed crops. They killed peasants who were given land by the democratic government. They were particularly merciless to land reform officials and activists. In Qunduz province the leader of one band, a certain Farid nicknamed "Madman", had a young activist tied to his jeep and dragged on the ground. When the jeep came to the village there were only the feet left in the loops.
Since more than 85 per cent of the population are engaged in agriculture, which is the backbone of the Afghan economy, the bandits are trying to cause it the greatest possible damage by attacking villages, destroying buildings and crops, taking away cattle and wrecking farm machinery. All this is accompanied by looting and acts of terrorism against the population. Here are some of the facts:

— on October 31, 1982, bandits attacked the community of Burka, in Farjab province; they took away grain and cattle and looted the peasants' homes;

— on July 19, 1983, they burned the peasants' grain stocks in the village of Kalan Shani;

— on November 24, 1983, they attacked the Gaziabad farm in Nangarhar province where they set fire to stocks of fuel and grain;

— on June 3, 1984, they raided the community of Naglu, in Kabul province, where they looted and burned part of the harvest;

— on June 8, 1984, they came to the community of Kossi, in Ghor province, set fire to four houses and killed a peasant who tried to stop them looting. The bandits took away 20 men whose fate remains unknown;

— on the night of June 8, 1984, bandits attacked the hamlet of Telaxi-Sufla and killed two peasants. They took away all cattle and 17 remaining peasants. The captives were shot dead in the mountains;

— on June 15, 1984, bandits tried to disrupt harvesting on the Hostana cooperative farm, in Balkh province. They fired on peasants working in the field and injured four of them;

— on August 1, 1984, they attacked peasants in a field in the Panjshir valley, Parwan province, killing eight of them and injuring two;

— on October 22, 1984, they took away 200 sheep from the hamlet of Sarfis, in Samangan province.

According to Afghan sources, damage done to agriculture in the years 1979-81 alone exceeded 7,500 million afghanis. The worst hit were cooperative farms, where 906 buildings and several irrigation systems were destroyed. From 1980 to 1985 the bandits destroyed 750 million afghanis' worth of machines for building irrigation facilities, i.e. bulldozers, excavators, etc. Total damage caused to the country's irrigation systems amounts to 1,600 million afghanis. To escape bandit raids, the inhabitants of whole villages in the border areas have had to cross into Iran and Pakistan or move to towns under the protection of Afghan troops.

DAMAGE EXCEEDS 35 BILLION AFGHANIS

In a recent speech Babrak Karmal said that counter-revolution was waging a war of attrition and was trying to destabilise the situation, undermine the economy, and doom the people to hunger and privations. By attacking and destroying factories, mines, power stations, power transmission lines and communications, the bandits are doing great harm to the economy.

The power industry has been particularly affected. Here are some facts:

— in 1982-1984 bandits blew up 64 gas pipelines, each explosion causing damage worth 50 million afghanis;

— in 1981-1985 they blew up 250 pylons for power transmission lines, each blast causing damage worth about 10 million afghanis;

— in 1978-1985 the coal industry suffered losses estimated at 300 million afghanis as a result of the destruction of the Sabzak coal mine in Herat province, the Ishpushta mine in Parwan province, and the Darayeyusuf mine in Baglan province;

— in 1978-1985 damage was done to oil drilling equipment estimated at 10 million afghanis.

Acting on instructions from their ringleaders and their foreign bosses, the bands are trying to cause maximum damage to industrial facilities by attacking them or conducting acts of subversion and by terrorising their workers with the aim of preventing them from working. Faced with growing resistance from worker defence groups, the bandits have been shelling factories from afar. They hit not only industrial facilities and their personnel but adjacent houses and their occupants. Here are some facts:

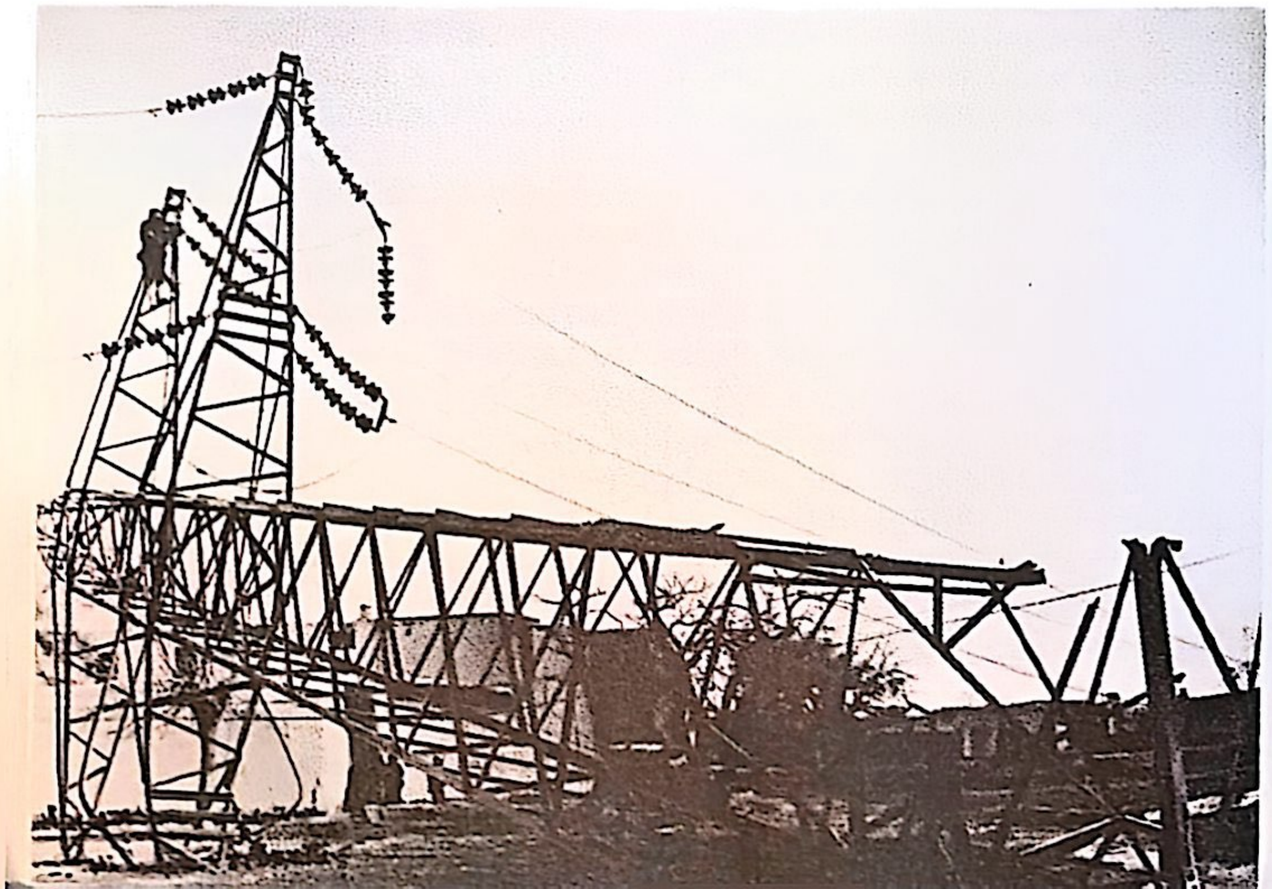
— on the night of January 26, 1982, bandits shelled and damaged a power station in Parwan province;

— on July 8, 1983, they raided a farm of the Hadda Jalalabad irrigation complex and before the workers' eyes maimed the farm superintendent, Mir Ahmad, for refusing to carry out their orders to stop work;

— on June 20, 1983, they shelled and damaged a woollen

mill in the city of Kandahar, killing two workers and injuring three;
— on the night of October 27, 1983, they fired rockets on a wood-working shop in Kabul, destroying the house of Mohammad Nabi, killing his daughter and injuring ten neighbours;
— on October 27, 1983, they shelled and burned down a cotton mill and all raw materials stocks in the town of Morgab, in Badghis province; adjacent houses were damaged and 12 people were killed;
— on November 11, 1983, bandits attacked a fruit-processing plant in the Pagman district of Kabul province and put its equipment out of operation;
— on January 15, 1984, they shelled the Gulbahor textile mill in Kapisa province, causing material damage and injuring several workers;
— on the evening of August 28, 1984, they shelled and damaged a thermal power station in the Udheil district of Kabul province. There were casualties.
The bandits shell not only industrial facilities. For several years they have deliberately been attacking populated centres, using foreign-supplied heavy weapons and rockets. By sowing death and destruction they are trying to repay their debts to their bosses in Pakistan and their employers in Washington. They are destroying dwelling houses, mosques, shops, warehouses. Thousands of people have lost their lives. The Afghan press has reported the following facts:
— on May 24, 1982, bandits fired on the administrative centre of the Dehraud district, in Uruzgan province. Thirty people were killed;
— on July 17, 1982, they shelled the community of Jahkhon, in Herat province. Two children were killed and seven adults injured;
— on May 2, 1983, they fired mortar shells on the community of Khwaja Saiaran, in Parwan province. There were casualties among civilians, including children;
— on the night of July 4, 1983, they shelled the town of Khumi Zarghar, in Parwan province, killing six people;
— on July 8, 1983, Shir Mohammad's band shelled a mosque in the community of Nowabad, in Kunar province, killing four civilians;
— throughout December 1983 bandits shelled the administrative centre of the Jaji Maidan district in an attempt to force the inhabitants to leave their homes and go to Pakistan. There were civilian casualties, and many houses were damaged;
— on May 23, 1984, bandits shelled the village of Pashad, in Kunar province, killing and injuring seven people, among them three small children;
— on the night of August 26, 1984, they fired mortar shells on the town of Sharana, in Paktika province, killing one child and injuring two women;
— in October 1984 they repeatedly shelled the town of Host, causing casualties and destroying buildings;
— on November 3, 1984, they fired rockets on Kabul. Shells hit the building of a botanical museum, a restaurant, the airport and the Maiwand residential area. Eighteen dwelling houses were destroyed and there were casualties.
According to government figures, total damage caused by the bandits has exceeded 35,000 million afghanis and continues to grow.

Bandits are destroying everything they can.



BANDITRY ON THE GROUND AND IN THE AIR

"Midway between Kabul and Bahsud our bus was stopped by several gunmen whose faces were covered. Two passengers who protested were shot dead on the spot. The others were trembling with fear. The dead bodies lay in pools of blood. Then the bandits set fire to the bus. Afterwards they herded us towards the mountains, beating us on the way. We were not allowed to look back. Then they ordered: 'Empty your pockets and take off your clothes.' To scare us they aimed guns at us but then fired into the air. They enjoyed seeing us trembling. Then the order was shouted: 'Those who are coming with us stand to one side and the others leave as quickly as possible.' A group started to run. But they had not run a few steps when fire was opened on them from behind. As they were falling and dying, the gunmen laughed."

The story has been told by a surviving passenger, a young man by the name of Zakir of the community of Bahsud. It appears in a book entitled *The True Face of Afghan Counter-Revolution*, published in Kabul. It is a typical instance of banditry on the roads which is aimed at disrupting traffic between different parts of Afghanistan, a country that has no railways and therefore wholly depends on motor transport.

Here are a few more examples:

— on December 27, 1982, bandits threw two grenades into a bus in the area of Wasselabad, killing two passengers and injuring six;

— on January 28, 1982, bandits stopped three buses in the Kabul suburb of Ugheil, forced the passengers out, and set fire to the buses;

— on February 2, 1982, bandits set fire to a filling station in the town of Ghazni;

— on February 3, 1982, in the Kabul neighbourhood of Shahe Shaheed they hijacked a car belonging to the UN Office in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, after forcing the driver and passenger to leave the car;

— on February 10, 1982, bandits mined a road in the

These lorries were carrying goods for the civilian population through the Marmol Gorge.

district of Shkardarah and several carts were destroyed by blasts;

— on April 16, 1982, they blew up a bridge on the road between Kabul and Kandahar, in Zabul province;

— on April 28, 1982, five passengers died when a bus struck a mine planted by bandits in Laghman province;

— on May 12, 1982, bandits attacked a road-building team in Balkh province and destroyed vehicles and equipment worth more than 8,000,000 afghanis;

— on May 14, 1982, they hijacked a vehicle and killed the driver in the Qalaqan district of Kabul province. They threw his clothes on the road with a note saying: "He didn't stop when we ordered him to stop";

— on July 12, 1982, they fired on lorries in Samanghan province. Three lorries with wheat and sugar overturned and burst into flames;

— on September 12, 1983, they set fire to 47 private cars and killed 10 people in the community of Akhangaran, in Parwan province;

— on October 10, 1983, they attacked a column of lorries carrying food for remote areas in Takhar province. Four lorries were seized and four set on fire;

— on January 19, 1984, they seized a bus and beat up passengers who resisted near the village of Ziaraghi Moulavi Saheb, in Herat province. They killed four people and injured seven;
— on June 5, 1984, they exploded a bomb in a trolleybus in Kabul's Maiwand Street, killing 12 passengers and injuring 26;
— on August 17, 1984, twenty-five passengers were killed and three injured when a bus hit a mine planted by bandits in Nangarhar province.

According to official statistics for just one year, 1984, bandits destroyed 348 private cars and state-owned motor vehicles. They seized and destroyed 4,105 tons of cargo which consisted of food and other goods for the population. The cost of damage done totalled 1,075 million afghanis.

According to official statistics, bandits destroyed 59 large bridges.

Even this most incomplete list of facts refutes hypocritical statements by bandits that they attack only military vehicles.

Air transport, too, has been subjected to fierce attacks by the bandits.

On June 25, 1983, a passenger plane of the Bakhtar Airlines with 19 passengers on board came under fire during landing at Bamian airport. The plane was hit but fortunately there were no casualties;
— on January 19, 1984, bandits fired several shots at a Bakhtar aircraft in Uruzgan province and hit the fuel tank. The crew succeeded in making a safe landing;
— on the night of August 8, 1984, bandits fired rockets at Kabul airport, damaging seven aircraft;
— on August 31, 1984, there was a blast at Kabul International Airport, in which 27 people were killed and more than 200 injured, including many women and children;
— on September 17, 1984, bandits fired at an AN 26 passenger plane of the Bakhtar Airlines on its way to Kabul.
— on September 21, 1984, they fired a ground-to-air missile, damaging the engine and fuel tank of a DC-10 of the Ariana Afghan Airlines with 308 passengers on board. Thanks to the crew's skill, the plane landed safely;
— on October 2, 1984, bandits shelled the airport in Asadabad;
— on September 4, 1985, in Kandahar province, bandits fired a US ground-to-air missile at a passenger plane of the Bakhtar Airlines. The plane was shot down, all 47 passengers and five members of the crew were killed.

Even this list, far from complete, indicates that the bands are operating under a programme aimed at disrupting air traffic as much as possible. In this context the supply of anti-aircraft rockets through CIA channels has particularly sinister implications, for the use of these rockets against civil aviation infringes on the freedom of international air communications and gravely violates international law. The bandits' hypocritical claims, eagerly reported in the Western press, that they are using anti-aircraft weapons only against the Soviet and Afghan Air Forces have been refuted by facts and by testimonies of captured bandits. Thus, for instance, the captured leader of a big Hizbi-i-Islami band, Imamuddin (nicknamed "Mullah Ahmad"), has stated that the bands have orders to destroy all air targets, military and civilian. And that is what they have been doing.

ENEMIES OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Following the popular democratic revolution the government has done much to eradicate illiteracy. More than one million Afghans have attended literacy courses, and at present hundreds of thousands are enrolled in these courses, which number over 20,000 and employ 8,767 teachers who receive their salaries from the government.

The democratic government's efforts to abolish illiteracy and expand the public education system are particularly hated by the bandits who regard them as a threat to their plans of keeping the people ignorant. For this reason schools and teachers have been among the main targets of their attacks.

In 1984 alone they killed 92 teachers and educationalists

The village of Gulbakhar: here stood a school.

and destroyed six schools in Kabul and eight schools in the provinces. In all, from 1978 to 1985 they destroyed 1,864 schools, or more than half of all schools in Afghanistan.

— On January 14, 1982, they shelled and damaged the building of a teachers' training institute in the city of Herat;

— on January 18, 1982, they attacked the home of the Assistant Officer for Education of Ghazni province and killed all occupants;

— on April 25, 1982, they shelled the Mehri Secondary School in the city of Herat, killing one teacher and injuring 13 students;

— on May 12, 1982, a book bomb of a West German make was found at Kabul University. Two similar devices were found near the Ibn Sina School;

— on December 2, 1983, in Kunar province 13 residents of the town of Asadabad were abducted by gunmen as they were cutting up firewood. A teacher of a local school was brutally tortured before being killed by gunmen in front of his pupils;

— on the night of January 13, 1984, bandits attacked the Bamian Secondary School in the town of Bamian, sacked the school and killed the headmaster and two caretakers;

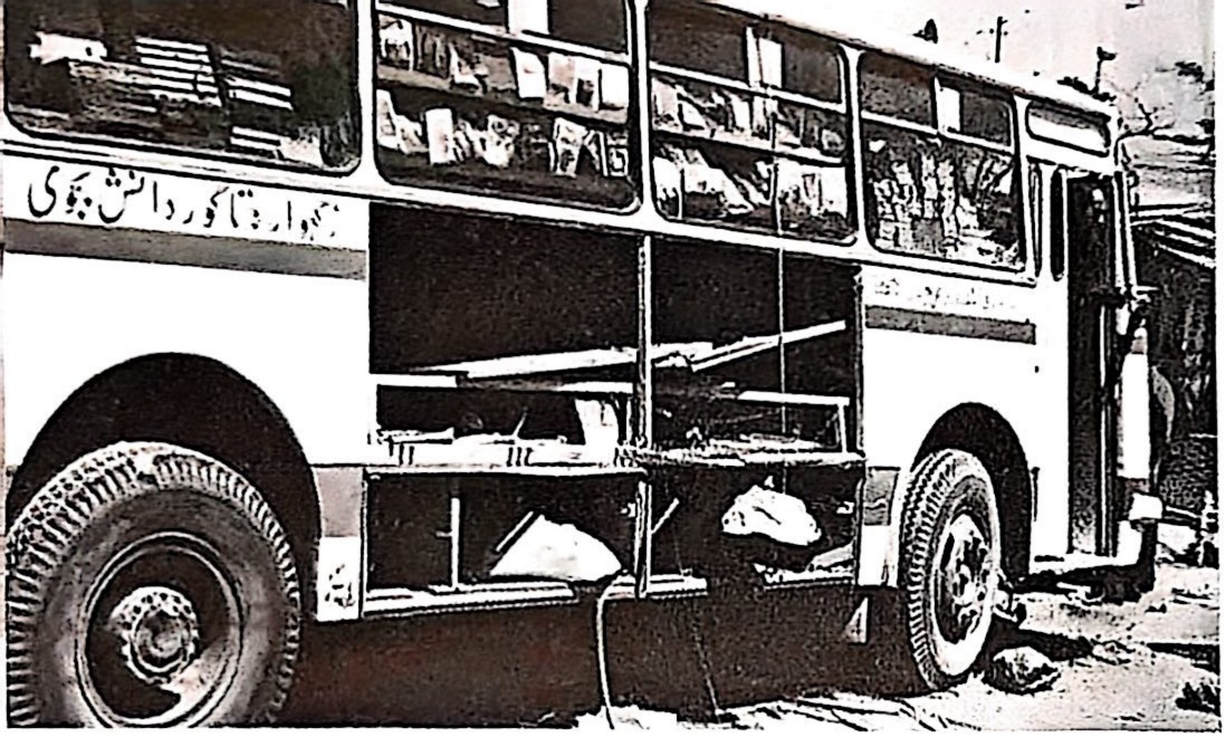
— on October 25, 1984, they shelled a school in the town of Kandahar, causing casualties.

In the city of Herat they abducted Ibrahim Jelaladdin, the headmaster of a girls' school. The next day his body was found on a motorway with marks showing that he had been cruelly tortured. There was a note on his breast which read: "The same is in store for his colleagues." In the same province, Herat, Jamiat-i-Islami gunmen broke into the house of the teacher Najiba, raped her and her sister, and then cut both into pieces in order to intimidate other teachers.

The aim of the bandits is not only to undermine and destroy the public education system but to slow down the country's cultural progress in general. Their attacks are directed against progressive intellectuals—scientists, artists, cultural workers, as well as teachers. Thus, one of the Hizbi-i-Islami bands, headed by Hameedullah, acting on orders from its leaders, murdered the headmaster of the Parwan Secondary School, Shokhor, the famous folk singer Khan Karabaghi, and State Minister Wali Jusufi, and seriously injured the well-known writer Akram Osman.

The counter-revolutionaries have been systematically attacking cultural institutions. They have destroyed the theatre in Herat, which is the oldest cultural centre in

Even children are not spared.



Bandits destroy books.

Afghanistan. They have damaged the buildings of archaeological museums in Kabul and in various provinces and have set fire to cinemas in Ghazni, Kandahar and many district centres. They have exploded bombs in crowded cinemas so as to cause casualties and terrorise the spectators.

On November 24, 1982, they set off two bombs at the *Pamir* Cinema in Kabul. The cinema and nearby buildings were damaged. Two people were killed and 21 injured.

On April 20, 1984, they exploded a bomb at the *Ariana* Cinema in Kabul when a children's film was being shown. The blast killed three viewers. Fifteen were seriously injured and many suffered slight injuries. Most of the casualties were children.

The bandits are barbarously destroying cultural values and historical property—the pride of ancient Afghan civilisation. The famous Hadda Temple, a unique blend of Eastern and Western cultures, had stood at the junction of ancient trading routes for many thousands of years. It was left intact even by wild hordes of invaders. The counter-revolutionaries have destroyed the temple. They have also ruined an outdoor museum (an early Buddhist temple that had been excavated) near Jalalabad, and have tried to

destroy magnificent old structures—a mosque and a shrine in the town of Mazar-i-Sharif.

They have exploded bombs at bookstores and libraries or set fire to them, destroying thousands of books including textbooks. This is a great loss for a country in which about 90 per cent of the population were illiterate before 1978.

The late Palestinian poet, Mouin Besseiso, said after visiting the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and seeing the atrocities committed by the counter-revolutionaries: "They try to explain away all their actions with hypocritical talk about 'defending Islam'. Books, pens, paper and the whole knowledge of mankind leading to enlightenment are regarded by these obscurantists fighting for their feudal and tribal privileges which they have lost in the revolution as the highest degree of infidelity and sacrilege. Like barbarians, they cut off the fingers of children who have just learned to write, put out the eyes of those who have learned to read and brutally murder teachers for defending their pupils. How can the perpetrators of these atrocities call themselves true Muslims?"

HOSPITALS UNDER ATTACK

"To inflict losses on the enemy attacks should be made on hospitals. There are few guards near them and their personnel cannot put up any resistance."

That is part of the instructions issued by the Jamiat-i-Islami Military Committee.

Before the 1978 Revolution Afghanistan ranked 119th in the world in the level of its health care. About half of all children died before the age of five. There was one hospital bed for 5,000 of the population and one doctor for 13,000. Only five per cent of the population were supplied with drinking water. Malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis and other diseases were rife. Only 10-15 per cent of the urban population had access to medical assistance. In the provinces there was hardly any medical care at all.

Since the popular democratic revolution the health service has dramatically improved. Suffice it to say that the number of hospital beds has increased by 84 per cent and of

doctors by 45 per cent, this despite the relentless war waged by counter-revolutionaries against the health-care system. According to the most conservative figures, the damage caused by the bandits to health-care facilities in the 1978-1985 period totals over 500 million afghanis. According to the Afghan Bakhtar news agency, in the 1981-1984 period bandits destroyed 30 hospitals and more than 100 polyclinics.

— In just one month, March 1981, they attacked five hospitals. Three patients were injured when grenades were thrown into their ward at a hospital in Ghazni;

— on April 3, 1981, bandits attacked a group of doctors on their way to remote areas of Farah province to carry out vaccinations;

— on November 8, 1982, bandits exploded a mine at the Exon pharmacy in Kabul, gravely injuring the owner and his daughter;

— on the evening of July 15, 1983, bandits shelled the hostel of a hospital in the city of Kandahar, killing 13 people and injuring 20;

— on November 26, 1983, they killed a doctor, Abdul Wahab, and injured his son in the Kabul neighbourhood of Khairhana;

— on November 25, 1984, they fired rockets on a hospital in Kabul, killing and injuring several people.

The town of Lugar: what remains of a hospital and its patients.

The destruction of health centres, the killing of innocent patients and the harassment of medical personnel—members of the most humane profession—meet with opposition even among the bandits themselves.

"I asked myself why those living a comfortable life in Pakistan told us to destroy schools and hospitals here. And I realised that they had fooled us. So I decided to quit," said Allah Nazar, leader of one of the bands who came over to the democratic government's side.

Unfortunately, far from all bandits have realised that by destroying the health-care system in their country they act against the national interest; they are just a blind weapon in the hands of their ringleaders and their transatlantic bosses, who would like to impose their own "medical system" in Afghanistan.

Some aspects of this system were described by the Indian *Blitz News Magazine* in December 1984. It reported that a group of US doctors recruited by the CIA were conducting tests on humans at bandit camps under a secret programme. Its aim was to suppress people's mental powers with the help of psychotropic drugs, kindle base instincts in them and turn them into unthinking killers and rapists. This was the so-called "medical system" for Afghanistan that originated on the other side of the Atlantic.

THE BLOODY FINGERPRINTS OF BANDITS

Fascist massacres of civilians in the Second World War are among the bloodstained pages of modern world history.

Then there were the atrocities committed by the American Green Berets in Vietnam. The world will never forget the names of Khatyn, Oradour-sur-Glane, Lidice and Song My which were destroyed together with their inhabitants. In Afghanistan there was a village, Mian Pusht, whose residents, young and old, were burned alive by the Hizbi-i-Islami band of Abdul Haqim. In Jawzjan province the bandits burned down the village of Gargitu and killed all its inhabitants. They used the tactics of the Nazis and the Green Berets of hiding behind the backs of women and children. In the village of Khugitani, Nangarhar province, they forced local people to walk in front of them as they tried to break out of encirclement.

It is not surprising that their crimes bear the imprint of the Green Berets, for the latter make up most of the American instructors who are training the bandits at camps in Pakistan.

Naseer Ahmad, a bandit who was taken prisoner, said the following about his training: "An American instructor, a tall fair-haired man who said his name was Dino, taught us that if a prisoner refused to talk, we should pour kerosene over him and strike a match..."

The instructors and bandit leaders teach them not just to kill but to kill in a particularly cruel and horrendous way so as to terrify others and paralyse their will to resist.

That was how the leader of a band nicknamed "mullah Ahmad", who has been captured by the militia, acted. In the village of Rudod he burned alive 48 activists, including women. This is the tactics of other bands as well.

— In January 1982 in the Anardar district of Farah province bandits singled out 10 civilians whose relatives worked at government offices or were loyal to the government. They forced the men to remove mines in a gorge. Most of them died;

— on the night of April 8, 1982, in the community of Sherabad, in Balkh province, they herded about 250 local inhabitants into a mosque and before their eyes killed with axes two captured officers and four men of the 18th Infantry Division of the Afghan Army;

— on May 5, 1983, in the community of Khajaba Ama they

brutally murdered 80-year-old Aziz Solemamat and his 70-year-old wife because their son served in the militia;

— on December 10, 1983, they raided the community of Khwaja Gon, in Herat province, whose inhabitants had refused to support them. The attackers looted property and killed eight people after subjecting them to torture.

The leaders of counter-revolutionary groups stir up base instincts in their subordinates and order them to torture, kill and rob their victims. Different pay rates are set for killing a government employee, for setting fire to a school, for blowing up the pylon of a power transmission line, etc. The loot is shared among members of the band. They even pull out gold teeth from prisoners and the dead. The leader of one band, Anaitkhan Afridi, had a tobacco pouch with two dozen of these "souvenirs".

The security forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have established that the Hizbi-i-Islami underground committee in Kabul has terrorist groups with orders to hold up well-to-do citizens (merchants, owners of tea-rooms and restaurants and others). In March 1982 five bandits led by a certain Abdullah broke into the house of a merchant named Kadyr. They killed his three wives and took away 50,000 afghanis and all valuables but ran into a militia patrol and were arrested.

On August 4, 1984, gunmen broke into the house of a certain Said Habib in Kabul, wounded his wife and took away all his cash—40,000 afghanis. These are just two out of many similar cases.

In their subversive activities the bandits set special store by mining. In a manual distributed among the Jamiat-i-Islami bands, one can read the following:

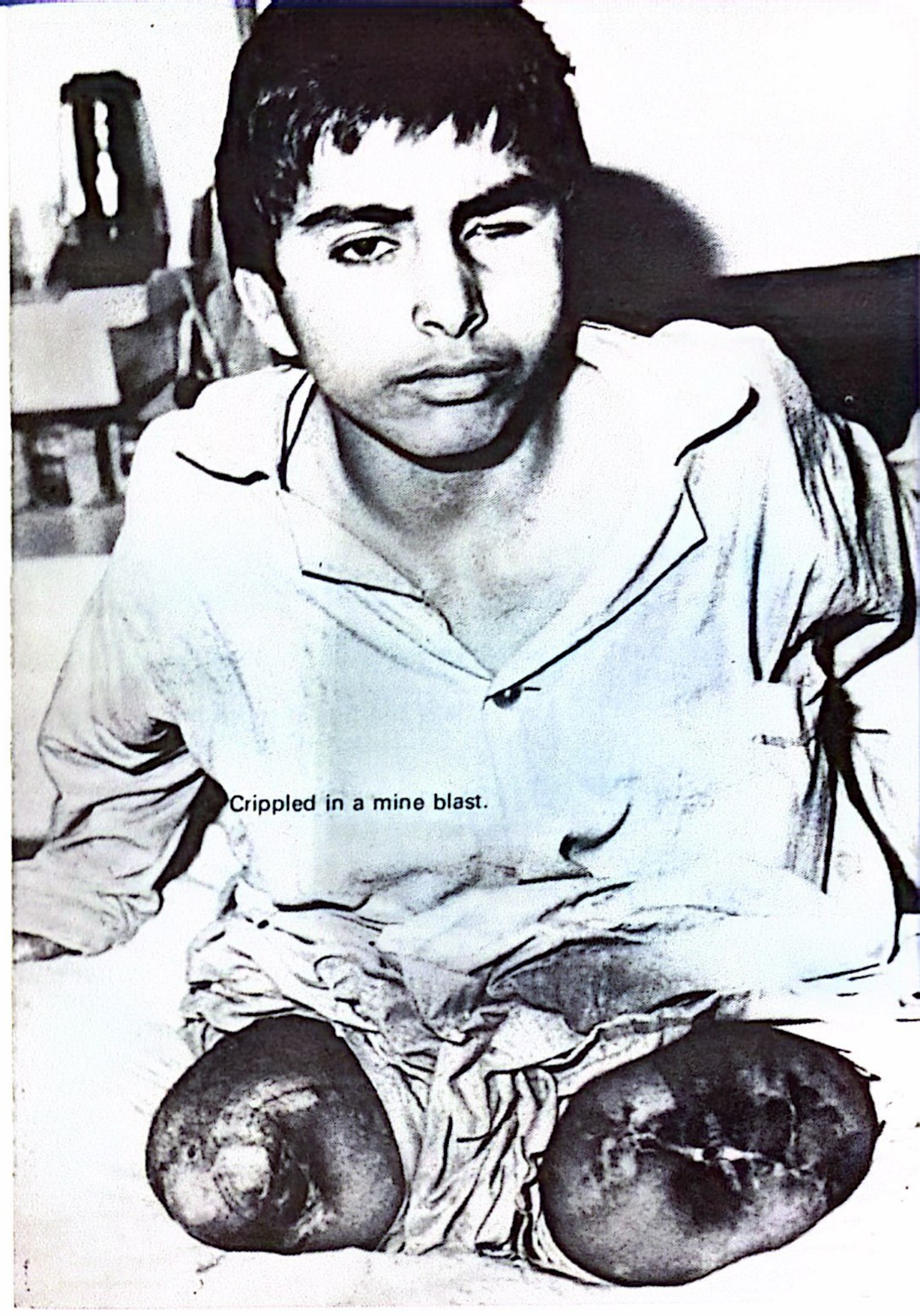
"Question: What is the first thing a recruit should be taught?

"Answer: It is best of all to teach him subversive tactics, such as mining."

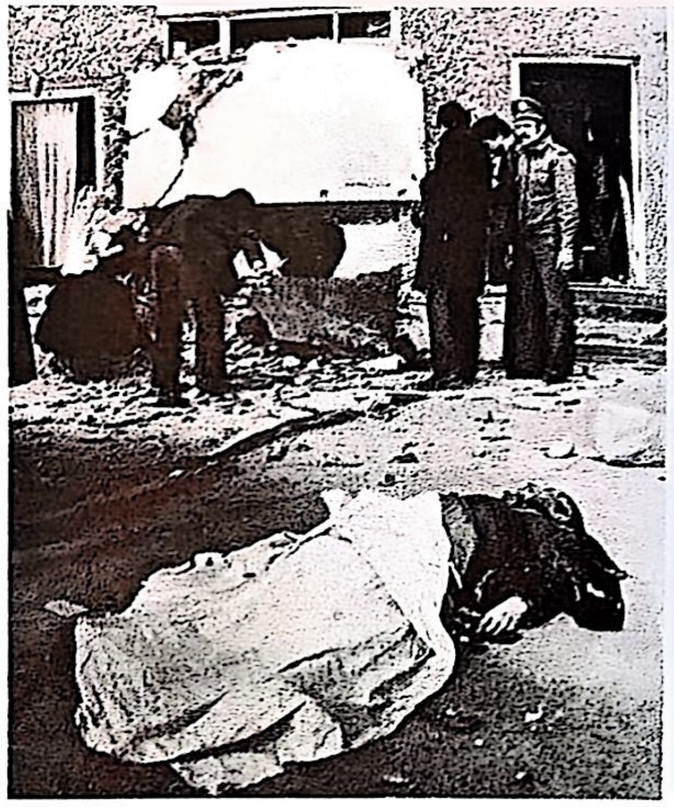
The bands have been using mines and other explosive devices on a large scale.

"To get people to join our groups," said Abdul Wahed, leader of a large band routed in Panjshir, "we mined whole areas, including roads, bridges and fields. Afterwards people would ask us to remove the mines if only from

roads, and in return would promise everything, from money and food to young men for our groups." This is how the bandits are using mines against their own people.
And here are some of the tragic results:
— on April 8, 1982, two adolescents were hit by a mine blast in the town of Kalat, in Zabul province;
— on August 4, 1982, bandits exploded a home-made mine during a wedding in the village of Mulan, in Ghazni province, killing or injuring 19 children and four women;
— on December 20, 1983, a mine placed near a mosque in the city of Herat went off, injuring eight people and killing one Tsarandoy militia guard;
— on April 5, 1984, in the remote Kabul neighbourhood of Khairhana children found an explosive device, planted by bandits, in a courtyard; when the device went off two of the children were killed and two injured;
— on May 17, 1984, ten people were killed and more than 30 injured in a mine blast in the town of Darby Kandahari, in Herat province;
— on August 8, 1984, in a new residential district of Kabul, Muhammad Areef was seriously injured when a booby trap shaped like a pen exploded in his hands. The same happened to ten-year-old Abdulsabir Aþdul-jamil who lost both his hands.
— on October 2, 1984, two teenagers were hit by a mine set by bandits in the village of Sanjar.
Innocent people have been dying—women, elderly people, but mostly children. Many children have been killed or crippled by explosive devices shaped like toys, food cans and household items. Bandits are also using children and adolescents to carry out acts of subversion and terrorism. By deceit or threat they make them carry and plant explosive devices. They also use women wearing the traditional long robes to deliver mines and weapons to the marked areas.
"An *ashrar* is like a mad dog," I was told by a member of the Tsarandoy militia. "He bites everything he sees." And everywhere there are human casualties. Here is a list of their atrocities during three months in 1984:
— on August 22, 1984, they fired at the *Karavan* restaurant in Kabul, killing five people;



Crippled in a mine blast.



The work of bandits.

— on August 27, 1984, they set fire to the *Bahor* Hotel in the Pagman district;
— on October 7, 1984, they planted a mine in a tea-house in the Carabagh district. The blast killed two people and injured eight;
— on October 17, 1984, they blew up a tea-house and burned down four houses in the town of Sheberghan. There were casualties;
— on October 29, 1984, they exploded a bomb at a hotel in the town of Imam Saheeb, killing three people and injuring eight.

Statements by bandit leaders that they attack only military targets are disproved by their deeds which have brought death and suffering to the same Afghans on whose behalf they claim to act. In reality they are waging a cruel war against their own people.

The actions of Afghan counter-revolutionary bands are clear examples of international terrorism. In their cruelty and scale they exceed the most heinous deeds of the "Red Brigades" in Italy and the "death squads" in Latin America.

President Reagan has expressed displeasure over the fact that the Western press calls them "rebels" instead of "freedom fighters", but that does not alter the essence of the matter. In guiding and instigating the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Reagan administration is inciting international terrorism of the kind that the President of the United States has pledged to combat as a basic goal of his foreign policy.

From time to time the White House launches provocative media campaigns alleging human rights violations in the DRA. But why have they kept silent about the counter-revolutionary bands? Perhaps the concept of human rights does not apply to them? After all, the counter-revolutionary bands are violating the most basic human right—the right to life—every day. They have inflicted so much material damage and caused such great loss of life in Afghanistan that the world community should have long ago condemned their actions as violations of human rights and demanded that they be stopped at once.

Chapter III

The CIA and Pentagon: Fighting a War "to the Last Afghan"

***The beard is mine, but it belongs to my effendi.**
(An Afghan proverb)*

Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor to President Carter, grew pale with fear when a bouncing submachine gun in the hands of a Pakistani soldier threatened to kill everybody around. The incident took place at a border point near the Khyber Pass in February 1980 when it was suggested that Brzezinski should shoot towards Afghanistan. But Brzezinski thought that a Pakistani soldier should do this. Indeed why should he do the shooting himself? Washington had long learned to wage war through others; in this case, it is a question of making the "Asians fight against Asians".

The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan began immediately after the April 1978 Revolution. It was instigated by reactionary groups in the United States, its allied countries and in Pakistan. Washington had long regarded Afghanistan as a potential site for setting up military bases directed against the Soviet Union and against national liberation movements in a region that includes South-West Asia, the Middle East and

* Master.

the Persian Gulf. Needless to say, the April Revolution overturned these plans. Furthermore, it could well wield an influence on neighbouring developing countries that would endanger American interests. This was the main reason why the White House launched an undeclared war against the newly established democratic system in the DRA. There were plans to overthrow it with the help of mercenaries. Later, when the Soviet Union had sent a limited military contingent to Afghanistan, Washington stepped up its undeclared war, hoping to use the Afghan conflict for justifying the arms race and its aggressive actions in various parts of the world. At the same time it hoped that by raising a hue and cry over the Afghan events it could distract public attention in Western countries from internal political problems and anti-war campaigns. The United States and its allies embarked on a policy of state-supported terrorism towards the DRA and tried to interfere in the internal affairs of that sovereign state with which they maintained diplomatic relations.

A fierce propaganda war is being waged against the DRA at international forums and in the media (the press, radio and television). The United States is openly trying to frustrate any diplomatic moves aimed at normalising the situation involving Afghanistan.

US interference is especially evident in the military field. It amounts to preconceived aggression which falls under the definition of aggression adopted at the United Nations in 1974. Article 3 of the UN document defines aggression as "the sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State..."

Ruling circles in the United States, its allies and Pakistan have been conducting these actions on an ever greater scale, using the resources of their special services and military agencies. In November 1984 a book came out in Kabul entitled *The Secret War of CIA Against Afghanistan*, which gives facts concerning the CIA's subversive activities against Democratic Afghanistan. The book names officials who back in 1978 formed a CIA spy ring in Pakistan to supervise the bandits' activities. They included Robert Lessard, Louis Robinson, Richard Jackman, Louis

Dupree and others. By now they have no doubt been replaced by others, but the objectives and methods used remain the same.

THE CIA'S LARGEST OPERATION

On the evening of January 9, 1980, a group of US Senators had a secret meeting with CIA officials in S-407, the most "secure" room in all of Congress, to discuss the CIA's plans for covert paramilitary operations in Afghanistan. The next day Frank Carlucci, CIA Deputy Director, advised President Carter of the results of the session and the President signed "a Presidential decision setting the program in motion". That was how the CIA started its undeclared war against Afghanistan, as described by the American journalist Tad Szulc.

In actual fact, that was not the beginning of the CIA's operations, which had been going on for some time, but their legal affirmation.

From the first days following the April Revolution the CIA began to form, arm and train bands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries secretly and on a large scale on Pakistani territory. The first camps and bases were established as early as May 1978 in the town of Warsak and within the next few weeks, in Parachinar, Chitral, Miram Shah and other towns where Pakistani instructors were joined by their American and Chinese colleagues. By the end of 1979 about 40,000 gunmen were infiltrated into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In October 1979 the British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* reported that military operations had spread to 12 out of 28 provinces in Afghanistan. The US embassies in Islamabad and Kabul became centres of subversion against the new government, as was the US General Consulate in Karachi where veteran CIA agents were hastily sent in. In Washington questions concerning aid to the bands were decided at the highest level. According to *Time* magazine, back in 1979 Brzezinski claimed credit for organising arms supplies to Afghan counter-revolution.

After Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan, President

The CIA sends large quantities of weapons for the bandits.

Carter tried belatedly to justify CIA actions by declaring at a National Security Council meeting that the United States had "a moral obligation" to help arm the Afghan resistance movement. In his opinion, however, an increase in US aid should not destroy the impression that the struggle in Afghanistan was a Muslim struggle. Therefore, the CIA should coordinate its actions with Muslim countries hostile to the DRA through the intelligence services of these countries, and not through normal diplomatic channels.

After President Reagan took office the CIA doubled and even tripled arms supplies to the bandits, and its operations also became less secret. According to *The New York Times*, in the 1984 fiscal year the White House earmarked more than 280 million dollars for the Afghan "fighters for the faith". For 1985, according to *The Washington Post*, the figure reached 600 million dollars. Some government officials were apprehensive lest the program should get out of control. At the same time Washington was pressing its

Hezb-i-Islami
Afghanistan

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حزب اسلامی افغانستان

Date 29 Feb, 84

(Nizami) نمبر

To:

The HE Ambassador of United States of America
The HE Ambassador of France
The HE Ambassador of Egypt
The HE Ambassador of Peoples Republic of China

Subject: Supply of Technical Equipments

It is submitted for your information that arms and ammunitions issued to our party are not sufficient for the defence of Panj-Sher.

As reported earlier, Russians were reported enforcing their troops to attack Panj-Sher. You are therefore requested to please issue the air defence equipments(for gunship helicopters) and intoxicating chemicals that could be used against personnel.

(Dagarman [illegible] Khan)
Incharge Defence Matters
Hizb-e- Islami

A letter by Alam Shah Khan.

NATO partners into increasing their financial aid to the "Afghan opposition". As a result, the United States and other "friendly nations", including Israel, spent upwards of 700 million dollars for these purposes in 1984. All in all Washington's allocations of such kind totalled over 1,500 million dollars.

The American Afghan Relief Committee set up by the CIA not only conducts propaganda but is also engaged in purchasing and delivering arms to anti-government bands. On the personal instruction of CIA Director William Casey the CIA began to recruit Afghan emigres in European and Asian countries who were then trained to run arms to Pakistan and from there to Afghanistan. In 1982 about 100 Afghans were trained at CIA centres in the United States and sent to Asian countries (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman and others). There they took up jobs with companies engaged in goods shipment.

Arms are delivered in the following way: crates arrive at the

ports of Gwadar and Karachi or at air bases, are unloaded quickly, and then taken by Pakistani military lorries to depots at rebel camps near the towns of Quetta, Mardan, Chitral, Sibi, Parachinar and Chaman. In June 1984 the American *Time* magazine reported that the crates containing weapons had Red Cross markings or were marked "food" for Afghan refugees or "telephone equipment for a religious organisation".

US arms deliveries are handled by the CIA in coordination with Pakistan's military intelligence. The arms supplies include machine guns, ground-to-air missiles, rocket launchers, mines, anti-tank weapons and automatic rifles. The bandits receive some types of weapons directly from the Pakistani army under an agreement reached during a visit to Pakistan by US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. In the border areas there is a thriving private business involving the making, repairing and selling of weapons. The Pakistani authorities turn a blind eye to the private workshops and stores.

The CIA is making extensive use of Israeli resources. Israel is selling Afghan counter-revolutionaries weapons it seized in the war against Egypt, using the services of Gulf smugglers. This is how the collaboration between reactionary Islamic forces and Zionists takes place.

Arms are reaching the counter-revolutionary bands through scores, even hundreds of channels, and each band tries to lay hands on as many weapons as possible; for in the jungle world of the so-called "rebels" one has to be stronger than one's rival if one is to survive. The sharing-out of weapons has led to strife and gun battles between the bands.

Indeed, the increase in the amount of sophisticated weapons at the disposal of the Afghan counter-revolutionaries has been the most important factor in ensuring their survival.

As they meet with increasing resistance from the Afghan people's army and militia (Tsarandoy), counter-revolutionary bands appeal to their bosses for more and more sophisticated weapons. This is indicated by documents captured by the Afghan army. Here is one of them.

"Islamic Party of Afghanistan
29 February 1984
To:
The HE Ambassador of United States of America
The HE Ambassador of France
The HE Ambassador of Egypt
The HE Ambassador of People's Republic of China
It is submitted for your information that arms and ammunition issued to our party are not sufficient for the defence of Panj-Sher.
As was reported earlier, Russians were reported enforcing their troops to attack Panj-Sher. You are therefore requested to please issue air defence equipment (for helicopter gunships) and intoxicating chemicals that could be used against personnel.
Lieutenant-Colonel Alam Shah Khan
In Charge of Defence Matters
Islamic Party of Afghanistan"

With the supply of increasingly sophisticated weapons to the bandits, more centres have been set up where bandits are trained by US, Pakistani and other instructors in carrying out terroristic acts, mining, sharp-shooting, artillery, anti-aircraft missile guidance, etc. There are 120 camps training thousands of bandits every year. General training is conducted only at a few camps, with the majority of the camps providing specialised training. According to the *Foreign Report* weekly, training is also conducted at a number of Pentagon bases in the United States under the supervision of high-ranking government officials. There small mobile groups armed with the latest weapons are trained in carrying out acts of terror, subversion and sabotage inside Afghanistan.
The weekly has also reported that the Pentagon is planning to use US Air Force planes to deliver arms to bands operating in some parts of Afghanistan.
Time magazine (June 11, 1984) reported that the United States was using the newest technical means, including spy satellites, to direct and coordinate terrorist attacks in Afghanistan. It said that recently the counter-

revolutionaries had received more than 40 portable transmitters with the help of which they could exchange intelligence information with CIA headquarters at Langley.
This is how massive and all-round aid has been furnished to the bandits. In the words of a well-informed member of the US Congress, as was reported in *The Washington Post* (September 10, 1984), it represents the largest covert operation of the CIA.

A WHITE SAHIB COMMANDS "NATIVES" AGAIN

Shamsuddin was a rank-and-file member of a counter-revolutionary band. He unquestioningly carried out all orders from his leader, Ahmad Khan. In cold blood he shot women and children and anyone he was told to. He took part in arson and bomb blasts. He thought all that was being done to defend Islam from atheists and kafirs. He was not easily ruffled but once he lost his temper. It was early morning. He had been on guard duty all night and was about to lie down and have a rest when a foreigner came out of the cave where Ahmad Khan was staying. The foreigner had arrived with two bodyguards a few days before and even Ahmad Khan deferentially called him Mr Advisor. He looked irritated and seeing Shamsuddin said angrily in Dari: "Hey you there, stop hanging around. Go get my camera and tripod in the cave and come with me to the mountains." When Shamsuddin made no move, the foreigner cursed in the local dialect. Now Shamsuddin was angry. How dared that kafir order him about, a faithful Muslim, and in that sort of language? He raised his sub-machine gun—a gesture that had long become his usual reaction to anything which displeased him. The foreigner cried with fear, and his guards ran out of the cave and jumped on Shamsuddin who was disarmed and taken to Ahmad Khan. The latter gave him a dressing-down and in the end produced a piece of paper and read out: "All group commanders must give every assistance to the advisors who will be taking pictures or making a film during the

operation. If anyone of the group treats the advisors badly, he will be arrested and tried before an Islamic court..."
Ahmad Khan fixed his eyes on Shamsuddin and added: "This is article 24 of the order from the Military Committee of the Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan. You are pardoned because of your previous service. But remember, the foreign advisor is a very important man. He commands us, we don't command him."
Who are they, these foreign advisors? They are the new "white sahibs". Like their predecessors long ago, they again control the life and death of the "natives" whom they despise. It has long been known that the United States, its NATO allies and some other countries have sent military instructors, advisors and "guerilla warfare" experts to Pakistan to train the bandits there. They total 1,500, and 318 of them are Americans.
Afghan army experts told me in Kabul that in the first years after the April Revolution these instructors and advisors had been concerned mostly with arming and training the rebels. Gradually their duties were extended and they began to take part in the bandits' military operations, thereby interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. They have directed operations in the provinces of Parwan, Herat, Laghman, Paktia and Kandahar. They have also supervised the handling of heavy weapons and the building of fortifications since the bandits cannot do that themselves.
The Afghan army has captured a letter from the bandits addressed to the US Ambassador in Pakistan in which they inform him that Major Charles Peeter has safely arrived in the Panj Sher valley and ask for more "advisors" and other experts.

"The Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan
4 March 1984
To:
The Honorable Ambassador of
the United States of America
My dear sir,
It is submitted for your information that Major Charles Peeter had safely arrived in Panj Sher.

Ittehad Islami
Mujahiddin Afghanistan
Date 4 March, 84

اتحاد اسلامی مجاهدین افغانستان
تاریخ

(4299/AD/FR) نمبر

To
The Honorable Ambassador of
The United States of America

Subject: Arrival of foreign advisors to Panj Sher

My dear sir,
It is submitted for your information that Major Charles Peeter had safely arrived in Panj Sher.

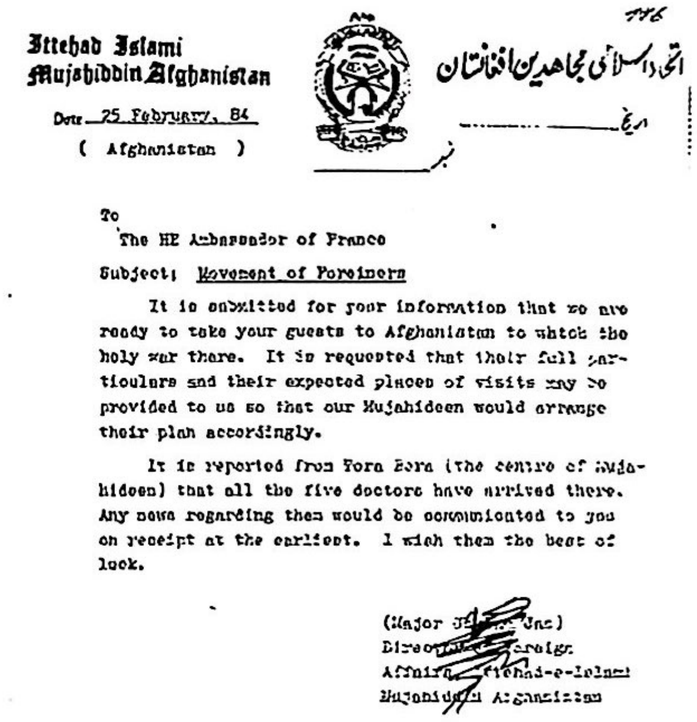
We hope that you would please send an expert in air defence along with the necessary equipments to Panj Sher so that our forces there will have a stronger position against the air raids of Russians and Kabul government.

(Hajee Gulam Jan)
Director of Foreign Affairs
Ittehad Islami Mujahiddin Afghanistan

A letter by Hajee Gulam Jan.

We hope that you would please send an expert in air defence along with the necessary equipment to Panj Sher so that our forces there will have a stronger position against the air raids of the Kabul government.
Hajee Gulam Jan
Director of Foreign Affairs
Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan"

Most likely the request was complied with, for Wahed "the One-Legged", leader of a big band who was taken prisoner in Panj Sher in the summer of 1984, later told a news conference in Kabul that he had collaborated with 16 Americans, two Chinese and many Pakistani advisors and instructors, some of whom had worked in Panj Sher after illegally crossing into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Not all of them kept their movements secret. E. Kotny, Bundeswehr major, openly bragged of his participation in bandits' raids. In August 1985 the British newspaper *Daily Telegraph* published an interview with a



Ittehad Islami
Mujahiddin Afghanistan

اتحاد اسلامی مجاهدین افغانستان

Date 25 February, 84
(Afghanistan)

تاریخ ..... ـــــــ

نمبر ـــــــ

To
The HE Ambassador of France

Subject: Movement of Foreigners

It is submitted for your information that we are ready to take your guests to Afghanistan to watch the holy war there. It is requested that their full particulars and their expected places of visits may be provided to us so that our Mujahideen would arrange their plan accordingly.

It is reported from Tora Bora (the centre of Mujahideen) that all the five doctors have arrived there. Any news regarding them would be communicated to you on receipt at the earliest. I wish them the best of luck.

(Major [illegible] Jan)
Director [illegible] Foreign
Affairs, Ittehad-e-Islami
Mujahiddin Afghanistan

A letter by Hajee Gulam Jan.

veteran of the US Marine Corps who at least twice took part in a battle against Soviet and Afghan soldiers.

Once inside the DRA, the advisors pursue their own interests. Mostly they gather intelligence. They instruct the bandit leaders to capture Soviet and Afghan servicemen and interrogate them personally. They also gather tendentious political information, prepare reports and take pictures and shoot films on the basis of which the Western media conduct anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan propaganda.

Close aides of Ahmad Shah Masood who were taken prisoner in Panj Sher in 1984 have told a news conference in Kabul about the activities of such "cameramen". They said that the advisors taught them to handle arms and supervised combat training. The advisors dabbled in mining and bought the famous Panjshir emeralds. Among the advisors were mining engineers. One of them, an American called Billy Stone, had brought with him booby traps shaped like toys which exploded by electronic signal.

Imamuddin, a former bandit leader known as "mullah Ahmad", has described the cover provided for foreign advisors: "We were told to introduce them as doctors,

correspondents, photographers, representatives of international food relief organisations and so on."

Here is one more letter testifying to the bandits' collaboration with foreign "guests" who illegally cross into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

"Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan
25 February 1984
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Major Gulam Jan
Director of Foreign Affairs
Islamic Unity of Mujaheddins of Afghanistan"

It is perfectly clear that the "five doctors" belong to the same category as that described by "mullah Ahmad".

Foreign advisors take particular care with regard to their security. They are guarded by bandits who are considered the most reliable. They take hostages from among the relatives of bandit leaders. They conceal their nationality and their names and rarely remain for more than three months with the same band. These precautions have so far enabled most of them to escape captivity and the judgement of the Afghan people. But there are exceptions.

The body of an Englishman, Stuart Bodman, was found among bandits who were killed after their group was routed in Parwan province. It became known later, however, that the real Bodman was safe and sound and that Western secret services had used his identity papers to protect their agent. The imposter Bodman, like other ad-

visors, had on him still and movie cameras. What he had filmed was not mountains or the bright costumes of Afghan women, but places where Afghan and Soviet troops were stationed. He used maps printed in the United States, while the band had via-satellite transmitters and computers with which to encode information. Besides ordinary firearms, members of the band were provided with explosives and instructions on how to make explosive devices with electric, clock and chemical fuses. It became known that another reconnaissance group including British secret agents was to have followed in their footsteps. All spy groups operate under the cover of the London-based Gulf Features Service and the French Aide Médicale Internationale (AMI). Under cover of small or "front" companies, the United States and its NATO allies have been dispatching their secret agents and career army officers to direct the activities of the bandits.

Western powers are planning to have professional mercenaries included in the bands. Not being citizens of any one country, these hired killers would act as "private individuals", and thus no danger of an "international conflict" would arise. In spring 1984 a group of Americans crossed the border into Afghanistan and met bandit leaders there. The group included Robert Brown, a former colonel of the US Army, who is known as a recruiter of mercenaries for "special operations" in various parts of the world and as the publisher of the *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. On behalf of US special services, he discussed questions of recruiting mercenaries in the West for carrying out acts of terrorism and subversion in Afghanistan, and of increased arms supplies from the United States and other NATO countries to the bandits.

MERCENARIES TO SUIT ALL TASTES

"... They are just paid mercenaries of foreign bosses. They are driven by greed and think they can make money in the unstable situation that has been created." That was how Abdul Wahed, one of the Panj Sher ringleaders taken prisoner by the Afghan army, described the counter-revolutionary bandits at a news conference. Wahed "the One-Legged" knows the bandits very well indeed.

In fact, when he spoke about them he spoke about himself, for he had been one of them. He described how he earned his keep as head of a band, 250 strong, harassing civilians and helping foreigners to take out lazurite and emeralds, his country's national wealth.

He said that the CIA had paid for his European propaganda tour which took him to Britain, France, Sweden and Norway where he read out CIA-prepared texts of an anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet nature at specially arranged news conferences and "public meetings".

The CIA never gives money for nothing. Like other mercenaries, Afghan bandits have to do the bidding of their masters. For these foreign "employers" and the media, blown up bridges and murdered peasants are not enough. They need something sensational and with strong political implications. Therefore, the bandit leaders are putting increasing emphasis on acts of terrorism that could be publicised as evidence of "popular resistance". When I was in Kabul, the city came under rocket fire at night. The rockets were fired at random and hit residential areas and even the US Embassy. All this was done so that the next day Western news agencies could report that "Kabul was under fire from the rebels".

Many "operations" are carried out by the bandits in order to get more handouts from their foreign patrons. There are particularly big rewards for attacks the responsibility for which can be laid at the door of Afghan or Soviet troops. As a correspondent of an Italian newspaper has reported, "The rebels, sometimes, commit the most barbarous acts while wearing Soviet army uniforms. They do it to arouse hatred for the Soviet Union and prepare fresh horrible reports about events in Afghanistan."

Mohammad Sadyk Jelani, arrested in Kandahar, has testified that his band was ordered to loot, kill civilians and then spread rumours that this was the work of Soviet and Afghan troops. Four Western journalists took part in the band's outrages. At first they rehearsed arson and bomb

blasts and then filmed them to show "atrocities committed by Soviet forces".

In the area of Chakhi-Baluchi four bandits wearing Soviet military uniforms shot dead 56 civilians. Other bandits picked up the bodies of the dead, took them to Shindand and there organised a funeral procession.

But if they cannot lay hands on Soviet uniforms, they manage without them.

Imamuddin, or "mullah Ahmad", the captured leader of a big Hizbi-i-Islami band, has told investigators that he had orders to kill people who are sympathetic toward the government, to take their bodies to other communities and arrange funerals there so as to persuade local people that they had been killed by Soviet troops and spread these remours to as many localities as possible.

Another mercenary, Turgit Uzala, had orders to film the bodies of civilians who had been killed and to put the blame on Soviet troops for the killings. Turgit Uzala, a Turkish national, had been recruited in Pakistan by Warren Marek, a CIA official who was US General Consul in Karachi. Uzala crossed into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and took a number of photographs. After seeing the true face of the looters, rapists and killers in the bands, he realised how false was their slogan of "fighting for Islam". The dollars he was given by Warren Marek as advance payment for his "work" proved forged as well.

A mercenary will be a mercenary. The CIA knows that all too well. A Turk may be sent to Afghanistan, and the next day an Afghan may be sent to Turkey. In September 1984 the British magazine *Middle East* reported that the American CIA had launched a big recruitment drive among Afghans in exile for use as troops in the Middle East and Africa. According to the magazine, the CIA had already sent 30 Afghans to Gulf countries and another 100 underwent training at its schools around the United States. The magazine quoted Afghan sources as saying that the CIA intended to use the Afghans in operations to be carried out by secret bands against "the more radical groups inside the PLO". The Indian papers *Statesman* and *Indian Express* confirmed that the CIA was planning to use Afghan

The motive force of the counter-revolutionary movement.

counter-revolutionaries for punitive operations in the Middle East.

Secret services in the United States and some other countries have been recruiting Afghan bandits to conduct espionage in India. Some facts concerning this became known in 1981. On August 24, 1981, two captured bandits, Abdurahman and Najibullo, said on Kabul television that dozens of terrorists had been trained together with them at Pakistani military camps for possible infiltration into India. On April 24, 1981, the Indian newspaper *Hindustan Times* reported that three specially trained mercenaries from among Afghan rebels had come to New Delhi with the assignment to assassinate members of the Indian government and to carry out acts of terrorism against diplomatic missions in New Delhi, Soviet organisations and Indian airline offices. The paper even gave their names.

These anti-Indian activities have been growing in scale over the years and, as the Indian press reported in 1985, special training centres have been set up in Pakistan's Punjab (more specifically, in the community of Khurrian, near Lahore). There were Afghans speaking Urdu at the camps. After a course of training they are issued forged passports and money and are infiltrated into India mostly through the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir to gather

intelligence, incite communal and religious strife, and conduct acts of subversion and terrorism. After joining a band, recruits get on the payroll. In Pakistan, fresh recruits from among refugees are paid 4,000-5,000 afghanis a month.
Afghan mercenaries are being used on a large scale as cannon fodder in the Iran-Iraq war. Their lives are little valued by Tehran, which is evident from a letter that has come into possession of the Afghan authorities. In the letter, addressed to the Iranian Guards of the Islamic Revolution, Afghan mercenaries complain that they have received only 1,500 tumans* instead of the promised 2,500. This is enough for cigarettes and bare necessities, but many of the men have families. Afghan mercenaries have also been used for punitive operations against Kurds and Beluchis in the outlying provinces of Iran.
Tehran is taking part in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Afghan bandits are given shelter and support on Iranian territory, and Iranian servicemen are in charge of their training and arming.
It is ironic that owing to its anti-Afghan policy the Iranian regime has found itself in the same trench with its bitter enemy—the "Big Devil" (American imperialism). "By supporting Afghan counter-revolution," notes the Lebanese newspaper *Ach-Chaab*, "the Iranian authorities, who used to campaign against imperialism and Zionism, have now virtually joined them."
Afghan mercenaries with their counter-revolutionary, reactionary stand have also been used by the military regime in Islamabad to suppress opposition forces and progressive movements inside Pakistan. One of the observers of the Indian newspaper *National Herald* has said that Afghan mercenaries have given much assistance to Zia ul-Haq in suppressing a resistance campaign launched by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. Kabul newspapers have printed a document showing that the Pakistani authorities used Afghan mercenaries to attack tribes living in border areas at the time of the latest elections in Pakistan.
The use of mercenaries is one of the most dangerous forms of state-sponsored terrorism and an instrument of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of developing countries.
A resolution adopted at the 39th UN General Assembly Session says that the activities of mercenaries run counter to the basic principles of international law and seriously impede the process of self-determination of peoples fighting against colonialism, racism, apartheid and all forms of foreign domination. Not surprisingly, the United States and other Western powers are obstructing the work of the Ad Hoc UN Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries.
The CIA is preparing the same lot for Afghan rebels as it did for Cuban counter-revolutionaries who are contemptuously called "gusanos", or "worms", in Cuba. The CIA has been using "gusanos" who have settled down in a number of American cities as mercenaries not only against Cuba but against other Latin American countries. Now it is the turn of Afghan rebels. They are like an export item. They are indeed mercenaries to suit all tastes.

* One dollar equals nine tumans.

ISLAMABAD'S WORDS AND DEEDS

In its undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan the United States is assigning an ever greater role to Pakistan. Small wonder that Zia-ul-Haq, who heads Pakistan's military regime, has been given a special prize by the Washington-based International Strategic Association for his "outstanding contribution" to upholding US strategic interests.
The Pakistani regime willingly plays this role in pursuit of its own selfish goal, which is to receive ever more military, political and economic aid from the United States and other countries hostile to Democratic Afghanistan.
In return for America's lavish financial, economic, military and political support, Pakistan has turned its territory into the main springboard of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. The CIA has moved its regional headquarters from Iran to Pakistan in order better to coordinate aggressive acts against the DRA. All major groups of Afghan

Western-supplied weapons at training camps for Afghan counter-revolutionaries in Pakistan.

counter-revolutionaries have their headquarters in Pakistan. Their leaders meet foreign statesmen arriving in Pakistan on official visits. Afghan refugees and Pushtu and Beluchi tribes living in the border areas are being subjected to anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propaganda. They are being browbeaten, bribed or forced into joining the bands. Military training is provided at special camps whose number has continued to grow. Whereas in 1982 there were about 70 of them, in 1984 their number exceeded 120. The camps have Pakistani equipment. Most of the instructors are officers and reservists of the Pakistani Armed Forces working in close contact with military experts from the United States, West Germany, Britain, France, China and some other countries. Bandit commanders are trained at Pakistani army schools where they wear Pakistani military uniforms.

It has long been an open secret that the Pakistani authorities are in charge of arms supplies to the bands. The arms are sent from abroad, with the CIA covering most of the expenses involved.

The Pakistani military regime is trying to conceal or at least cover up its active role in the undeclared war against the DRA. This is indicated by many speeches of General Zia ul-

Haq and his ministers. In an interview with *Newsweek* magazine on June 15, 1981, Zia ul-Haq was asked if Pakistan was going to serve as an arms conduit for Afghan insurgents, and he replied: "We have no intention of helping them militarily." At a news conference on June 9, 1982, after returning from Saudi Arabia, Zia ul-Haq stated: "Pakistan has no dealings with Afghan mujaheddins fighting against the DRA. Pakistan is only giving relief aid to Afghan refugees and in this connection keeps in touch with their leaders."

Facts, however, indicate that Pakistan is not only giving all-round aid to the bandits but is taking a direct part in the undeclared war against the DRA and has been using its armed forces in that war.

According to Afghan press reports, an armed group of 50 Pakistani border guards crossed into Afghanistan on December 28, 1984 and raided the Chamkani district, in Paktia province. They fired rockets, causing civilian casualties.

The participation of Pakistani troops in military operations on the territory of the DRA has also been reported in the Pakistani press. In an article describing a raid by a bandit group on Afghan territory published in the January 1984 issue of *Urdu Digest*, it is said that there were many Pakistanis among the "Afghan insurgents".

Regular army units of Pakistan have been increasingly involved in attacks against Afghan border guards, and they have also shelled Afghan territory. Such acts of provocation have occurred particularly frequently near the community of Barikot, in Kunar province. In less than one month, from March 15 to April 10, 1985, the community was shelled by heavy weapons on 13 occasions, with heavy loss of life and damage to buildings. Planes and helicopter gunships of the Pakistani Air Force have repeatedly violated the air space of the DRA, flying over strategically important areas and attacking military and civilian targets. Near Barikot on October 5, 1984, several Pakistani helicopters crossed the border into Afghanistan and attacked Afghan helicopters on the ground, hitting two of them. In the same area, on October 21, 1984, an Afghan

helicopter with wounded on board was shot down by fire from Pakistani territory.

At the same time Pakistan is conducting malicious propaganda against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, accusing it of alleged violations of its land border and air space. Such treacherous tactics is designed to provide its US and other patrons with a pretext for committing aggression against the DRA and for justifying Pakistan's militarisation and large US arms supplies to Pakistan.

In its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan the Pakistani leadership makes active use of the resources of its secret services which have their own agents and career intelligence officers in the bands to gather intelligence on Afghan territory. A certain Jamil, a member of Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, and Hedayatulla, a member of the Pakistani secret police, have been caught red-handed in Nangarhar province. Other captured spies include Captain Zulfikar Hydar, a 26-year-old officer of the Pakistani intelligence service. He studied at a special school in Peshawar where he was trained in intelligence and counter-intelligence work, and underwent special physical training. In July 1984 he crossed into the Afghan province of Kunar to find out how bandits were handling foreign-supplied arms, where troops and particularly Soviet units were stationed in the provinces of Kunar, Nangarhar and Kabul, how the actions of Soviet and Afghan troops were coordinated, the reasons for the defeats suffered by counter-revolutionary bands, and the attitudes of Afghans to BBC and Pakistani radio broadcasts.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has published a *White Book* which cites many instances of anti-Afghan activities carried out by the Pakistani military regime. They all point to one basic trend—Pakistan's growing interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences for peace and security throughout South-West Asia, first and foremost for Pakistan.

The US newspaper *Christian Science Monitor* (February 21, 1985) quoted Asghar Khan, a leading opposition politician in Pakistan, as saying: "... the efforts of the United States and its allies to encourage Pakistan to become a

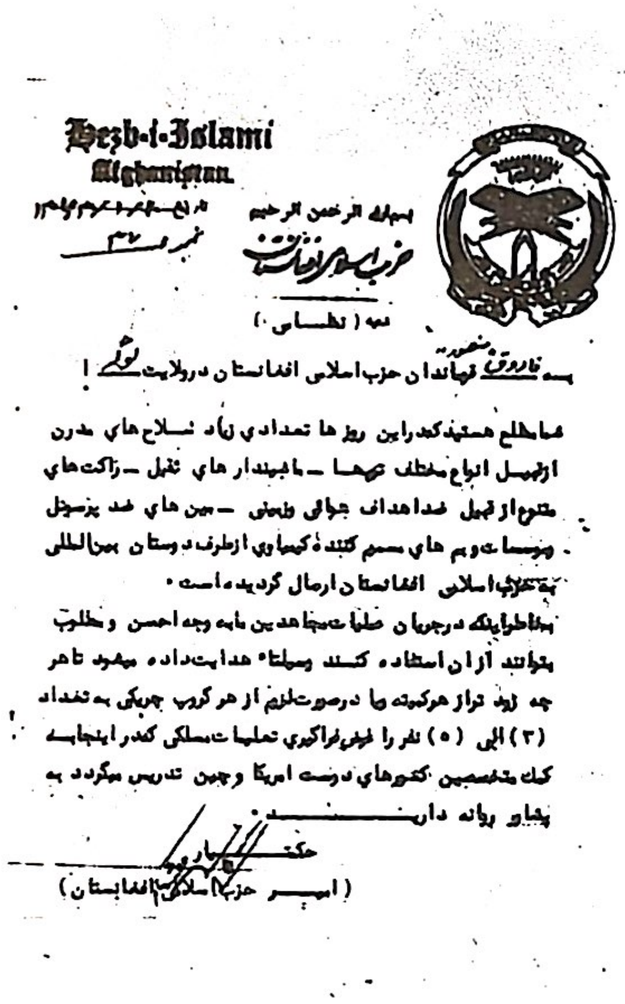
At the Suria School: a victim of poisoning.

frontline state are not only endangering our security in military terms, but are ruining our economy and creating internal instability, which could tear this country apart."

The disgraceful end of the Shah's regime in Iran, which tried to act as a watchdog of American interests in the region, should serve as a warning to Islamabad.

"DEAR BROTHERS, WE ARE SENDING YOU POISONOUS CHEMICALS..."

In March 1984 a militia patrol in a Kabul suburb noticed a young man whose behaviour seemed suspicious. He was detained and later identified as Ghulam Haidar from Peshawar. A plastic bag with a white powder was found in his kit. Experts established that it contained a strong poison and that the amount was enough to kill tens of thousands of people. Ghulam Haidar told interrogators that his assignment was to poison the water in Kabul's 8th District,



Hezb-i-Islami
Afghanistan.

بسمه تعالی

نمبر

تاریخ

حزب اسلامی افغانستان

(مهر تنظیمی)

به قاروقی منصور قوماندان حزب اسلامی افغانستان درولایت لوگر!

شما مطلع هستید که در این روز ها تعدادی زیاد سلاح های مدرن از قبیل انواع مختلف توپها - ماشیندار های ثقیل - راکت های متنوع از قبیل ضد اهداف هوائی وزمینی - مین های ضد پرسونل وبمبهای وبم های مسموم کننده کیمیاوی ازطرف دوستان بین المللی به حزب اسلامی افغانستان ارسال گردیده است.

بنا طوریکه درجریان عملیات مجاهدین مابه وجه احسن وبطوریکه بتوانند آزان استفاده کنند وسیلتاً هدایت داده میشود تا هر چه زود تر از هرکمیته یا درصورت لزوم از هر گروپ چریکی به تعداد (۳) الی (۵) نفر را غرض فراگیری تعلیمات مسلکی کدر اینجانب کمک متخصصین کشورهای دوست امریکا وچین تدریس میگردد به پشاور روانه دارید.

حکمتیار

(امیر حزب اسلامی افغانستان)

A letter to Farouq Mansour.

where large government offices and two secondary schools for girls are situated. Haidar had been recruited in Pakistan, where he, then an undergraduate student, had fled, tempted by radio broadcasts about the affluent and care-free life in Pakistan. But instead he was faced with hunger and loneliness and eventually found himself in a refugee camp. There he was visited by a representative of Afghan counter-revolutionaries and another man who was said to be "our American friend". With promises of a reward in dollars, they sent him to Kabul with the poison.

This is far from being an isolated case. Counter-revolutionary bandits had repeatedly used highly toxic chemicals in previous years. As early as October 1980 a

group of bandits were tried in Kabul for poisoning school pupils in the city. When they were arrested, US-made poisonous tablets were found on them. Upon contact with water these tablets produced a nerve gas. The bandits had dropped them into drinking water tanks so as to terrorise the students and disrupt classes. In all, 2,069 people had suffered various degrees of poisoning. In 1982 another group of bandits poisoned water at a school for girls. More than 100 pupils were affected and 14 of them later died.

Fakhruddin Gausi, speaking at a news conference in Kabul arranged by the Bakhtar news agency, said that he had been recruited by the CIA in Tehran in 1983. His recruiters included two Afghans, Burhanuddin and Sabahuddin Khushkaki, and an Iranian engineer, Karachian. They gave him chemicals to poison water at schools and other public places in Afghanistan, especially mosques. One Muslim rite involves the washing of the face and hands. Gausi was given a water-soluble chemical that caused epiphora, itching and skin damage. Fortunately, he was apprehended before he could use it.

But it is not only toxic powders and tablets that bandit leaders and their foreign bosses are sending into Afghanistan. The Afghan army has seized a letter from Hizbi-i-Islami headquarters to Farouq Mansour, a bandit leader in Logar province. The letter says, in part:

> "You are aware that recently a large number of weapons such as ... anti-personnel and demolition mines and grenades with poison chemicals were sent to the Islamic Party by our international friends.
>
> To enable our mujaheddins to use them properly, instruction is needed.
>
> For that purpose, send here as soon as possible three to five persons from every committee or, if need be, from every guerilla group, in order to get professional training, which is provided with the help of experts from the friendly countries of the USA and China.
>
> Hekmatyar
>
> (Amir, Islamic Party of Afghanistan)"

That the bandits are in possession of chemical grenades and shells is also clear from testimonies of insurgents who

have been taken prisoner or who have gone over to the government's side. Mir Hamza, of Jamiat-i-Islami, told a news conference in Kabul on March 2, 1983, that the band of which he had been a member had chemical weapons and gas masks. Foreign instructors had come to teach them to handle them. "They spoke fluent Dari," said Mir Hamza. "But some time later I learned that they were Americans." One might doubt the testimony of Mir Hamza and men like him, but there is hard evidence that the bandits laid hands on chemical weapons long ago and have used them many times. Here are some of the facts:

— in April 1980 chemical shells marked "PKT 83mm" were seized from a band in the area of Herat;

— on the night of July 1980 bandits used poisonous chemicals during an attack on the town of Ghazni. The band was destroyed and US-made bombs were seized from them. They were marked: "Handle with care: poison. Keep away from fire. Gives off toxic gas";

— in July 1980 a US-made chemical grenade was thrown into a public building in the town of Ghazni; fortunately, it did not go off;

— in 1981 US-made bombs with CS gas were captured from one of the bands;

— on August 25, 1981, a CE-type bomb was seized from a terrorist. It was marked "SS MP-7" and "Made in USA";

— on September 25, 1982, terrorists used CS grenades against government troops in Bamian province. The grenades were marked "Made in Great Britain on Order from USA";

— in 1984, in the village of Nove Cosa, Hougiani district, bandits fired chemical shells on Afghan soldiers who subsequently suffered from nausea, epiphora, drowsiness and deafness.

The bandits have used poisonous chemicals on many other occasions. Mohammad Alim, nicknamed "Esmaty", coordinator of Hizbi-i-Islami bands operating in the central zone of Afghanistan, has testified after being taken prisoner that he had repeatedly sent his groups to Pakistan to be trained in handling chemical weapons and ground-to-ground rockets that can be used as their delivery vehicles. According to him, the training is conducted at the Khardand and

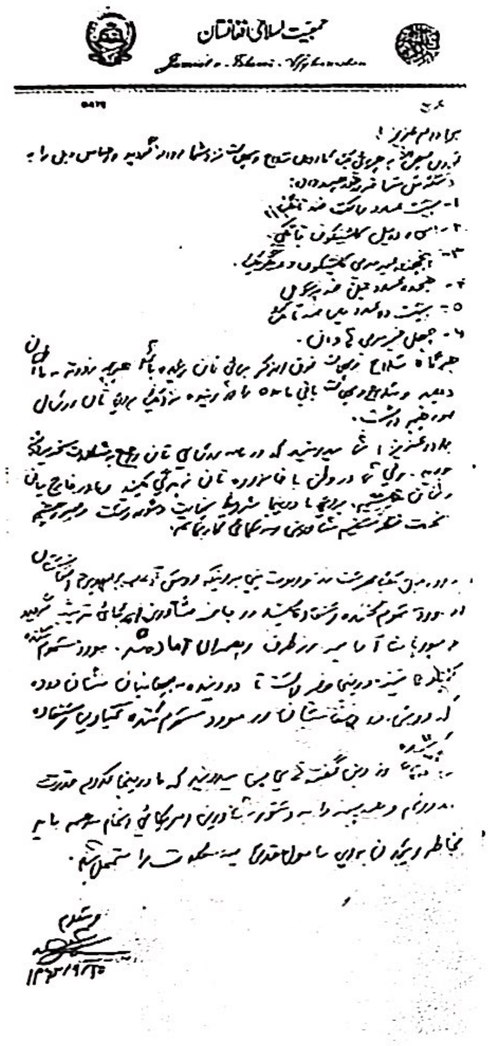
Preparations for using chemical weapons.

Darwazagi camps in the Parachinar area, in Pakistan, and lasts from two to six weeks.

While the Pentagon and the CIA have been supplying the bandits with chemical weapons and teaching them how to handle them, the Western media have from time to time spread false reports alleging that the Soviet Union has used poisonous chemicals in Afghanistan.

According to the US magazine *CounterSpy*, these reports and the supply of chemical weapons to the "rebels" pursue two goals. First, repeated reports about chemical warfare discredit the Afghan government and make it easier to put the blame for it on the Soviet Union. These reports have helped considerably to intensify anti-Soviet militarism which is on the rise in the United States. Second, these allegations against the Soviet Union are used for the purpose of building up the US capacity for chemical warfare.

All Western attempts to accuse the Soviet Union of using chemical weapons in Afghanistan have failed. A group of



"Dear brothers...", the letter begins.

UN experts, set up under US pressure, have thoroughly studied soil samples from Afghanistan and have found no trace of chemical warfare agents. Nor were such traces found by the French medical specialist, Philipp Augoyard, when he crossed into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan together with a band specially for that purpose. He told of the results of his mission at a news conference in Kabul on March 2, 1983. The magazine *Defence Monitor* has quoted CIA officials as saying that

they have no confirmation of reports that the Soviet Union has used poisonous chemicals in Afghanistan.

The CIA and the Pentagon, however, have not abandoned their slanderous campaign. They are ready to launch any adventures relying first and foremost on the counter-revolutionary bands. At a news conference in Kabul on February 27, 1984, a number of documents were shown which indicated that the CIA, jointly with the counter-revolutionaries, was preparing another provocation. US-made chemical weapons were to be supplied to the bands operating on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for use against civilians. The bands would then put the blame on Soviet or Afghan forces for committing an "act of barbarity".

Here is one of those documents. It is a letter addressed by Jamiat-i-Islami headquarters in Peshawar to the leader of a band operating in the DRA.

> "Dear Brothers,
> You mention in your letter the difficulties you are having but you are living in the homeland, with your families, and we are living abroad among enemies. For us the conditions are extremely difficult here, and we are obliged to work under the direct supervision of American advisors.
> A few days ago, a list of questions regarding the use of poison substances against mujaheddins ['fighters for the faith'] by the Russians in Afghanistan was prepared by American advisors, the answers to which were also provided by the leaders.
> The above-mentioned poison chemicals have been prepared here to be displayed to the world to show that the Russians are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan.
> You already know from me that we have no say here and do everything on the instruction of American advisors..."

There is a real threat that the bandits may use poisonous chemicals against Afghan civilians on a massive scale. They may well do it in order to please their foreign, mostly

American, "employers" for whom the suffering of the Afghan people is but a card in a political game.

* * *

In Pakistan the CIA has published a book under a dummy name about "guerilla warfare from the point of view of Islam". The book decribes terror as an important part of warfare and the only means of reducing the time needed to achieve the set goal. The manual is an enlarged and more detailed version of the notorious manual "Psychological Operations in Guerilla Warfare", prepared by the CIA for the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries. Many times manuals of such a kind taken from bandits were shown at press conferences in Kabul.

Thus, the Nicaraguan contras and the Afghan counter-revolutionary bandits are using the same gangster experience of the CIA. As an Afghan saying has it, "A snake changes her skin, but not her behaviour."

The aims of the bandits and their foreign bosses have been analysed in detail by a West German scholar, Professor von Jörg Huffschmid. Writing in the newspaper *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (January 6, 1983) he said: "Their aim is to create a general feeling of fear and uncertainty. People must be made to reject the proposed new reforms and withhold their support from the government, and all this is to set the stage for a counter-revolutionary take-over. The US government knows very well that if that country is given a few years of respite, its development would become irreversible and it would be impossible to check its progress, and its social changes would be consolidated. That's why it must not be given any breathing space. It is necessary to spread fear and horror and force the Afghan government to take counter-measures which, on the one hand, would be unpopular and, on the other, would divert time, resources and manpower from the pressing tasks connected with reforms and progressive development."

While the Pentagon and the CIA wage their undeclared war against Afghan civilians, the US Congress passes one resolution after another calling for increased financial aid to the counter-revolutionary bandits and for supplying them with the latest weapons. Washington is ready to fight to "the last Afghan", despite the fact that its actions have led to the death and suffering of innocent people.

From the point of view of international law, financial aid and arms supplies to the counter-revolutionary bands carrying out subversive activities and military operations against a sovereign state constitute a blatant violation of the norms of conduct of international relations. The same applies to those who help to transport US arms and ammunition to the rebel bands. This amounts to state-sponsored terrorism, a practice condemned by the United Nations.

Every US administration has its own "tag". With President Carter this was human rights. The Reagan administration has gone still further.

In his first week as US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig said that under the new administration the problem of international terrorism would take the place of human rights because terrorism "is the ultimate of abuse of human rights". George Shultz, who succeeded him as Secretary of State, has taken the same line.

On March 28, 1985, the *Wall Street Journal* said: "The State Department defines terrorism as 'premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets...' The kind of terrorism that most excites the Reagan administration is so-called 'state-sponsored' terrorism through 'intelligence services' and the use of 'surrogates'."

The important point here is not whether the State Department's definition of terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism is a correct one, but that "the kind of terrorism that most excites the Reagan administration" is just the kind that has been committed by counter-revolutionary bands in Afghanistan, in close collaboration with the CIA and other anti-Afghan forces.

Chapter IV

The bandits are doomed

A bitter tree yields bitter fruit.
(An Afghan saying)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LOOTERS AND KILLERS

Abdul Kuddus, nicknamed "Kal" (Bald-Head), was a professional looter. His cruelty and greed were noticed by leaders of counter-revolutionary bands who competed with one another for his services. He began his career in a Jamiat-i-Islami band and then joined Harakat-i-Islami. During a sharing-out of loot there was a fight and for some time Kuddus had to hide both from Afghan forces and from his "brothers in the holy war". Afterwards he joined Harakat-i-Inqilabi, formed his own band with the blessing of its leader, Nabi Mohammadi, and began operating in Balkh province.

Though he could not read or write, or even pray properly, Kuddus began to pass himself off as a preacher and make speeches about the "defence of Islam". But he flagrantly violated the teachings of the Koran. Against her parents' wish, he forced a 13-year-old girl to marry him, though she was engaged to be married to another man. The wedding was paid for by local people, who were thus burdened with yet another tax—two sheep from every family. With his two wives, Kuddus was at the same time a homosexual and rapist. When dividing the loot, he concealed valuables from his "brothers-in-arms", hoping to amass a fortune and flee to Iran.

When I read the indictment against Kuddus, I was amazed by the list of his crimes: setting fire to schools and

Kuddus ("the Bald-Head") and his band.

brutalities against women teachers, demolishing warehouses, looting food stores, but mostly murders. When he and his band were seized by the army, provincial authorities received more than 2,000 thankful letters from local people, including his relatives and wives, who condemned him for his atrocious crimes.

During the investigation and at the trial Kuddus tried hard to save his skin. He repented on television and even issued an appeal to other bands urging them to lay down arms.

Kuddus and his accomplices are typical bandits with the typical psychology of looters and killers. A combination of cruelty, religious hypocrisy and avarice—that is the dis-

tinctive characteristic of these "freedom fighters", as they are called by President Reagan. The leaders of counter-revolutionary organisations and bands are stirring up base instincts in their underlings and encouraging them to rape, kill and loot.

Abdul Jalil, a bandit arrested in Kandahar, testified that for killing an activist of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan he was paid 10,000 afghanis if the killing was confirmed by other "honest mujaheddins" and 50,000 if he presented the head of the murdered man. Some bands demand to see the victims' ears as proof.

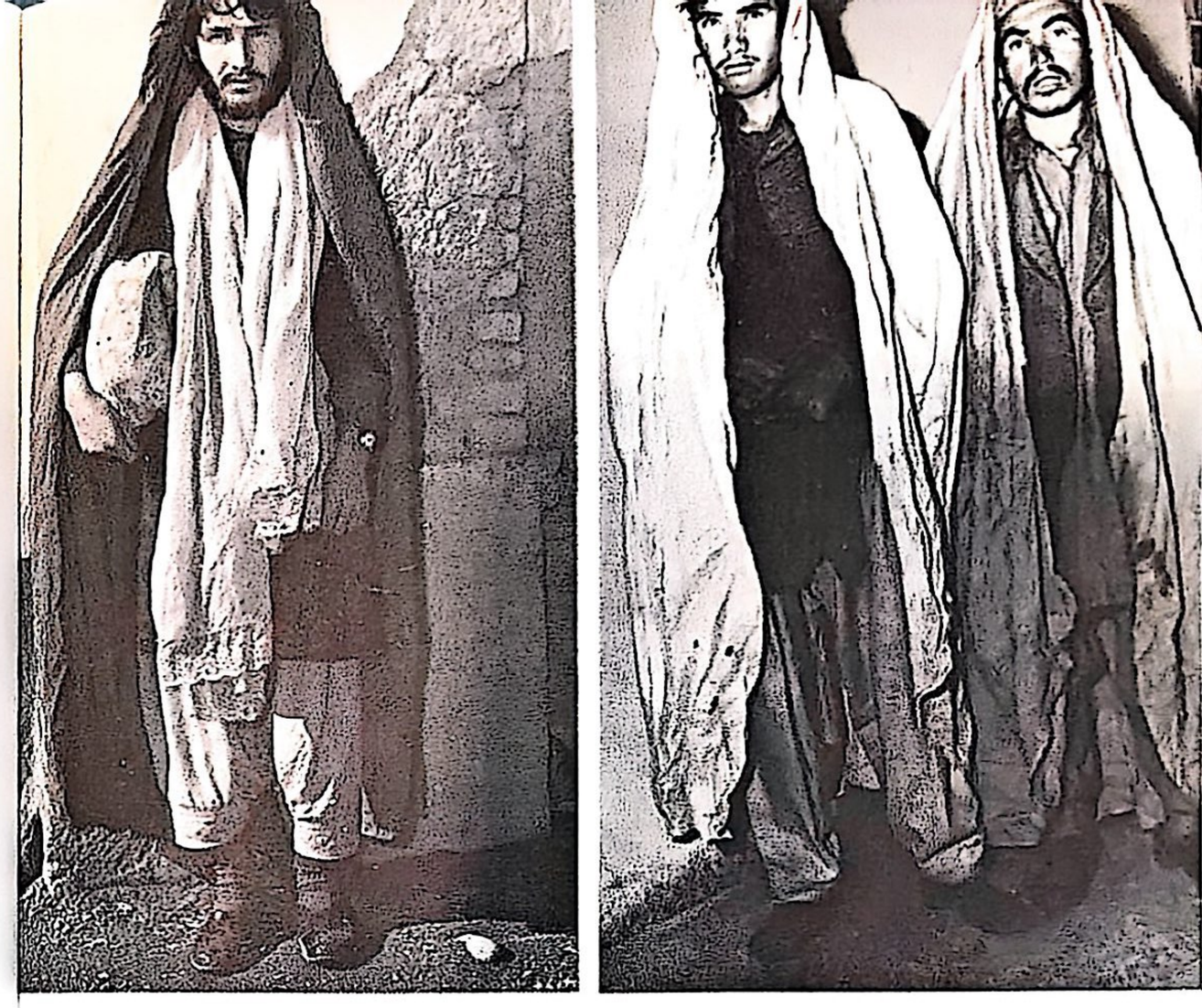
Killing also plays a big role in recruitment; the threat to kill is usually accompanied by primitive ideological indoctrination. One former bandit told me how he was recruited: "They came at night and their leader told me that the new government wanted to destroy Islam and every Muslim must defend it. And if I refused to come with them, they would kill me and all my family on the spot."

The bandits resort to the vilest means to achieve their ends. They dress as women, though this is considered a big disgrace for a Muslim man. They put on Afghan and Soviet army uniforms when carrying out operations. They force children, especially waifs, to spy and then secretly kill them to cover up traces.

Hyenas and jackals are known to be cannibals, i.e. they eat their own kind. Counter-revolutionary bands are cannibals too. One of their instructions says that if a terrorist is wounded he must be finished off by a man walking 30 steps behind him. If the latter fails to kill the wounded after two attempts, he must also be killed.

The bandit leaders of the so-called "Panjshir Front" acted like hyenas and jackals. After receiving information provided by US satellites that government troops were moving to Panjshir, they began to spread rumours that Soviet troops were appoaching and would kill everyone with poison gases. As local people fled in panic, they bought their cattle and valuables for a trifle.

Daily looting, which is part and parcel of the insurgents' "holy war", has led to property differentiation and corruption among their ranks. What aggravates the situation is that they control yet another evil source of income—the



Dressed as women.

production and trafficking of narcotics. The London-based magazine *Middle East* said in its May 1983 issue that these groups had created a fairly effective and well-organised "mafia" which controlled most of the drug exports from Pakistan. They smuggled heroin and hashish to the West and used the earnings to buy weapons and property in Pakistan.

According to expert estimates, Pakistan accounts for one-third of the world's heroin trade, with most of the heroin going to the United States. Back in 1982 the Indian newspaper *Hindustan Times* said that 80 per cent of the heroin seized by that time in the United States came from Pakistan. With its touching concern for the Afghan rebels the US administration is helping to create the problem of drug addiction in its own country, especially among young

people. Part of the heroin remains in Pakistan where drug addiction is becoming a national scourge.
Narcotics are smuggled into all neighbouring countries, creating a serious health hazard and grave problems for their governments. Although in Iran hundreds of drug traffickers have been executed, the smuggling of drugs continues.
Heroin has been supplied in increased quantities to India where it is used in political struggle. For instance, large quantities of heroin were seized after the routing of a group of Sikh secessionists led by Bhindranwale. Press reports said they were intended for purchases of arms.
In Afghanistan itself the bandits are trying, with the help of drugs, to erode Afghan society, first and foremost the army and state apparatus. They also pay particular attention to young people, hoping to turn them into drug addicts. Drugs such as heroin are now spreading in Afghanistan where before 1980 they were not brought or used.
The production and use of drugs have affected the bandits themselves, both physically and morally. They have led to greater property differentiation and bitter brawls during the sharing-out of drug money.
What motivates these so-called fighters for the faith is personal gain, not ideological struggle. As a result, there is hostility among them at all levels. A typical episode was described by the West German journalist Dieter Haack in *Der Spiegel* (No 1, 1983). Haack was once present at a secret summit of five rebel organisations which agreed to join their forces and fight Hizbi-i-Islami bands in one of the provinces. The summit took place following the killing of several members of rebel bands by Hekmatyar's men, and after a letter written by Hekmatyar was intercepted in which he instructed his men on ways of dealing with other bandit organisations. The letter said, in part: "It is necessary first of all to obtain as much hardware, ammunition, food and clothing as possible not only from the enemy but from the other parties. If they resist, hostile mujaheddins should be destroyed or driven from areas they control."
The reasons for clashes between the bandits are quite earthly. They have to do with rivalry in dividing the loot or a struggle for power or for a bigger share of the "pie"

provided by international reaction as military and financial aid. Back in July 1981 a report by Aernout van Lynden in *The Washington Post* said that many rebel groups were rent by bitter differences which sometimes led to armed clashes. For all their professed readiness for unity, they were waging two wars at the same time—one in Afghanistan and another between themselves.
There have been bomb explosions at the headquarters of rival groups in Peshawar; their leaders barely have time to exchange their cars, which have been pierced by bullets from "unknown snipers". As for public insults and accusations, they have long ceased to be news.
In August 1984 the Bakhtar news agency published excerpts from two intercepted letters. One of them was signed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and the other by Burhanuddin Rabbani. Both ordered their bands, who refer to each other as "jackals", to destroy their rivals by any means.
In December 1984 the *Kabul New Times* printed an intercepted letter from one of the bandit leaders, Abdul Rasoul Sayaf, to the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, accusing Gulbuddin Hekmatyar of trying to divide and disorganise "freedom fighters".
Sayaf put on the blame for the insurgents' defeat at Jaji Maidan on Hekmatyar who had failed to come to the rescue of his "brothers in faith", thus once again showing himself to be "a vile enemy".
Factional differences among the bandits at various levels, as manifested by their internecine armed clashes, are narrowing the social base of counter-revolution and bringing disorder to their own ranks. The counter-revolutionaries have been losing ground and have become increasingly dependent on foreign aid. In an article published in the Indian newspaper *National Herald* (May 2, 1984), Tapan Däs, a news analyst, said that the fact that the counter-revolutionaries were operating from Pakistani territory, being unable to secure a foothold inside Afghanistan, was proof that their efforts to overthrow the government of Babrak Karmal were absolutely futile.
At the Phuli Charhi prison, near Kabul, I talked to a former bandit, Abdul Jabar from Ghazni province, who was serv-

ing a 12-year sentence. Lean and spry, he eagerly told me in detail about his band, disclaiming responsibility for the atrocities committed by it and putting all the blame on other "brothers in the holy war". As I listened to him it suddenly occurred to me that I had heard something like that before. I remembered the spring of 1945 when SS prisoners-of-war behaved similarly, fearful of defeat and inevitable retribution.

Inevitable retribution now awaits Afghan counter-revolutionary bandits unless they lay down arms.

THE BITTER BREAD OF THE DECEIVED

When I talked to captured bandits in Afghanistan, I found that the overwhelming majority of them had travelled the same road: a refugee camp in Pakistan or Iran, then a military camp, infiltration into Afghanistan, and finally captivity.

The many thousands of Afghan refugees in the border areas of Pakistan and Iran provide most of the new recruits for the counter-revolutionary bands. Their ignorance, lack of rights and poverty make them an easy prey for bandit leaders looking for "cannon fodder", and, once recruited, they are sent to special camps in the border areas for ideological indoctrination and military training.

The refugees come from different ethnic and social backgrounds. Most of them were deceived by reactionary propaganda or forcibly uprooted by feudal lords or tribal leaders. Members of nomadic tribes who make seasonal migrations across the Afghan-Pakistani border are sometimes incorrectly listed among the refugees. Since olden days they have moved in winter from such provinces as Paktia, Paktika and Nangarhar southwards to pastures in Pakistan. In spring they would return to Afghanistan. But the Pakistani authorities have closed the border and taken hostages from among the nomads, thus preventing them from returning to Afghan territory.

When they arrive at a camp in Pakistan, refugees are registered by a local functionary from an "Afghan Relief Committee" and by a representative of the counter-revolutionary Afghan organisation that is in charge of the camp. The refugees are issued registration papers—a residence permit and a food card. Thus they are made dependent on the camp for clothing and food which are paid for by "relief funds" controlled by officials in Islamabad and local "Afghan relief committees".

Abdullah, the leader of one such committee, has told correspondents that the administrators who are supposed to look after the "refugees" are a "bunch of swindlers". Corruption and extortion in the "relief committees" have reached such a scale that the Pakistani authorities have had to dismiss or arrest 1,800 of their officials out of a total of 6,000

There are many dealers in Pakistan who have made fortunes out of foreign aid for Afghan refugees. Much of the aid is stolen and only a trickle reaches the refugees. And for most of them this is the only means of subsistence. Thousands of refugees make a scanty living by selling what they receive as "aid". They earn a few rupees a day and thus keep themselves from starving to death.

In these conditions it is really a mockery that "relief aid" sent from the United States includes briefcases, bras, second-hand clothes, mini skirts, corsets, skin-tight trousers, etc. According to a Reuter's report from Peshawar, one consignment included 16,000 cans of diet food for obese patients. That was a double affront to refugees since most of them are suffering from malnutrition.

Not a single unbiased Muslim delegation has been permitted to visit the refugee camps where they would be able to see the suffering of people who were tricked or forced into leaving their homes. The destitution and oppressive moral climate in the refugee camps result in larceny, looting, prostitution and drug addiction. Children suffer particularly. Forty per cent of all children are afflicted with trachoma and 26 per cent with active forms of tuberculosis.

A Committee of Patriotic Afghans in Pakistan has sent the UN Secretary-General a letter saying that thousands of Afghan refugees have been jailed in Pakistan. Hundreds of men, women, and children are doomed to death for lack of

food, clothing and medication. Those who refuse to act in accordance with the wishes of the Pakistani authorities are tortured and put to death. As soon as any Afghan refugee voices a wish to return home, he is arrested by the Pakistani police.

The refugees are in a double trap. Besides the Pakistani authorities, they are watched by one of the counter-revolutionary organisations and anyone wishing to return to Afghanistan is proclaimed "a communist" or "a traitor to the ideals of Islam". This carries an immediate penalty—a brutal beating or death.

Afghan refugee camps are a favourite "hunting ground" for various organisations hostile to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The special services of the United States are particularly active in this respect. They select Afghans who might prove useful for American intelligence. According to the newspaper *Muslim*, after a thorough vetting "the more reliable" of the recruits are given visas to enter the United States.

A noticeable role in subversion against the DRA is played by the clerical leadership in Iran who are also exploiting the plight of Afghan refugees.

"Afghan refugees are deprived of elementary human rights. Everything that is noble, human and Islamic is mercilessly suppressed by the Iranian 'pasdars' [guards of the Islamic revolution]," states the Organisation of Salvation of Afghan Refugees in its appeal. "Under an order issued by the authorities, these 'guards of the Islamic revolution' herd Afghans from various parts of Iran into special camps similar to those that the Israelis put up in Lebanon. From those camps Afghans are sent to die on the Iran-Iraq war front. Afghan women and children are forced to give blood for transfusion to wounded Iranian soldiers. If Afghans refuse to fight on Iran's side or give their blood to Iranian soldiers, 'guards of the Islamic revolution' ruthlessly shoot them in deserted areas near Zahedan and Taftan. Afghans are also used to suppress the movement of the Beluchis. Children and teenagers are forcibly taken away from their parents and sent to special camps to undergo military training."

Having artificially created the Afghan refugee problem for

provocative purposes, reactionary forces are now trying to make political capital out of it. They exploit the suffering of those destitute people and blame Kabul and Moscow for their plight.

More and more Afghan refugees are now trying to return home, and in this they are supported by all true patriots of Afghanistan. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, a prominent Pushtu leader, has called on all Afghans living abroad to return home and live in peace with their brothers. A general amnesty declared by the Revolutionary Council of the DRA guarantees the returnees all civil rights and restitution of their property rights. Only traitors who commit atrocities against their own people can expect no forgiveness.

COME BACK HOME TO YOUR FAMILIES

"We pledge ourselves to fight to the bitter end in defence of the gains of the April Revolution. We shall never again allow mercenaries to commit murders and other crimes." That is not an oath of allegiance taken by government troops or PDPA activists. It is a public statement by Abdul Satar of Herat, one of the former bandits who have gone over to the democratic government's side.

Real life has been penetrating into the midst of bandit groups, opening the eyes of the deceived. The democratic government is carrying out reforms in the interests of the great majority of the population and solving important social problems. It pursues the noble goal of taking the country out of age-old backwardness, ignorance and illiteracy and putting it on the path of knowledge and progress. The Afghan economy has been developing successfully and the country's gross national product and national income have increased. Industrial output has exceeded the pre-revolutionary level. The government has enacted a labour law aimed at abolishing exploitation of man by man. It is consistently carrying out a land and water reform as a result of which more than 320,000 families of peasants have already received plots of land. Over 1.5 million Afghans have learned to read and write since the

successful launching of the literacy campaign. A National Fatherland Front has been established which unites more than 700,000 patriotic-minded Afghans of different ethnic groups and classes, including entrepreneurs, merchants and clergymen. The revolutionary government is pursuing a policy of ensuring true equality of all ethnic groups and genuine government by the people. Elections to local bodies of state authority (jirgahs) were held for the first time in the country's history. Deputies are elected to jirgahs in conditions of open publicity and regardless of nationality or profession. In 1984 there were over 1,000 tribal and ethnic jirgahs in the country which dealt with questions of ethnic policy and local self-government. In April 1985 the Loya Jirgah (Supreme Assembly) met in Kabul. The deliberations of the Loya Jirgah and its decisions showed that the people of Afghanistan support the policy of the Revolutionary Council and resolutely condemn the undeclared war launched by reactionary forces.

As the new government in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan gains strength, counter-revolution finds itself increasingly isolated socially. More and more people come to distrust its slogans and there is a growing weariness about the war among the population. This is leading to a loss of confidence in victory among the bandits and their ranks are disintegrating. To build up their ranks, the bandits have to resort to violence. In 1984 mullah Nasym in Helmand, Turan Ismail in Herat, Jelaluddin in Paktia and other bandit leaders carried out a series of measures of forcible mobilisation. At a meeting in Peshawar in November 1984, the leaders of the largest bandit groups decided to conduct a "total mobilisation" of men in the Afghan refugee camps.

The Afghan people, however, have already received real benefits under the progressive reforms carried out in the country and are giving a strong rebuff to all opponents of the April Revolution. Jointly with the Armed Forces of the DRA and the Tsarandoy, a vigorous struggle against the bandits is being waged by revolution defence groups and self-defence groups and by groups of Malishes, or home guard of Pushtu tribes which took a decision to rebuff counter-revolutionary bandit groups at the Loya Jirgah of

border tribes held in 1985 for the first time in the history of the country. This was the cause of the atrocities by the Pakistani army against the Pushtu in the Khaiber and other provinces in December 1985.

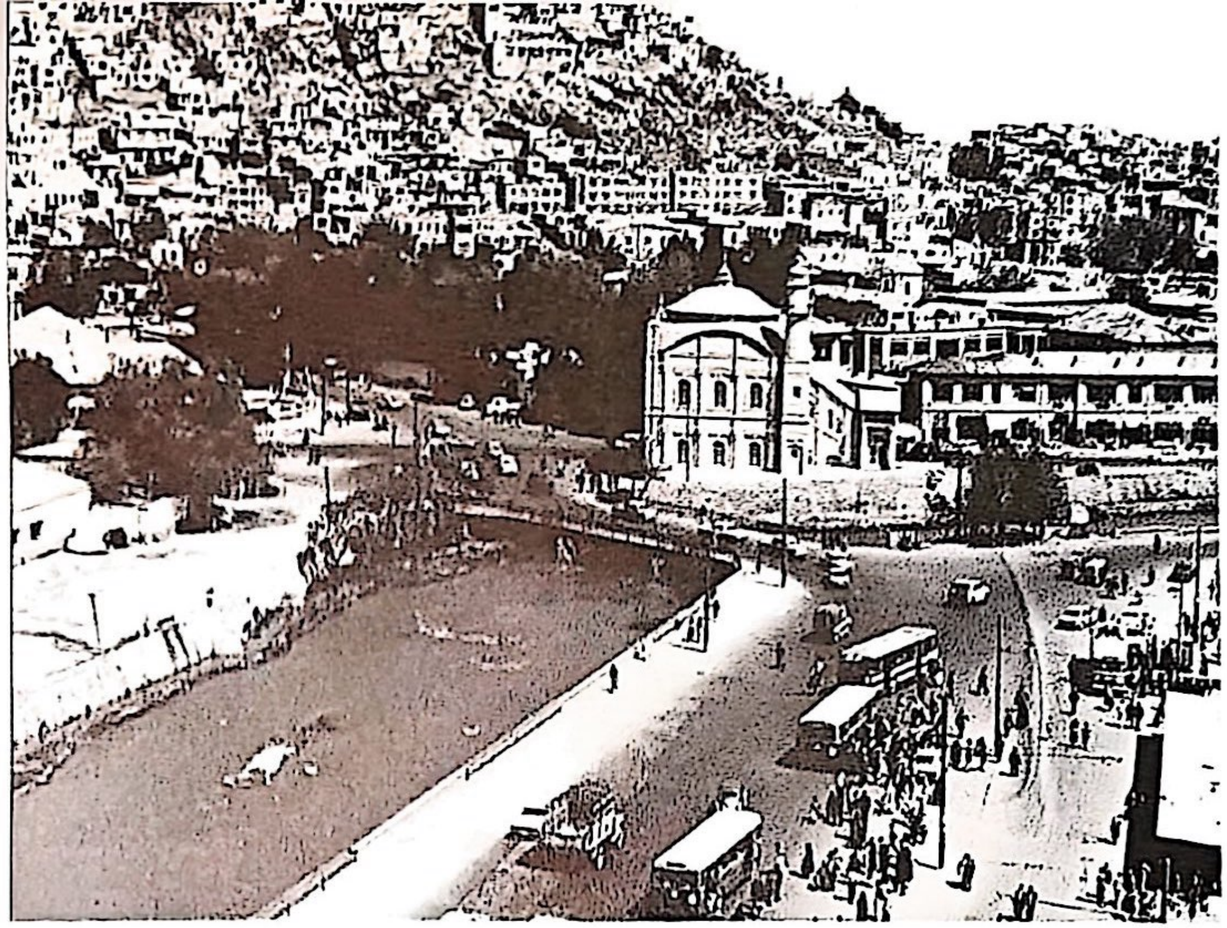
After visiting the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, William Ronkesley, a member of the Executive Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, said: "What surprised me was the hatred of ordinary people for the counter-revolution. Alongside attending to their affairs, working in their enterprises and offices, the Afghan people are ready resolutely to repel any kind of attack by the counter-revolutionaries. Their resolution deserves deep respect and solidarity."

The democratic government has declared an amnesty for all those who have given up armed struggle. It has pardoned those who were drawn into that struggle through deception and intimidation or by means of force.

In March 1983 former band leaders who had stopped fighting against their own people held a jirgah (meeting) in Kabul. At a press conference and in a unanimously passed resolution they urged their fellow countrymen in the bands to discontinue their armed fight and support the revolution. Their appeal said: "All who were deceived will have an opportunity to choose an honest way for themselves."

More and more bandits and whole groups of them are giving up the fight against government forces, holding talks with the revolutionary authorities, and laying down arms in order to return to a peaceful life. In August 1984 a 600-strong Hizbi-i-Islami band commanded by Juma Khan surrendered to the authorities in Kunduz province. A Harakat-i-Inqilabi group headed by Hajidad Mamad surrendered in Balkh province. With the consent of the authorities, Hajidad Mamad has formed a unit of 300 men which together with the regular Afghan army is fighting against counter-revolutionary bands in the area. Gafoor Pahlavan has acted likewise in Jawzjan province, and so have many other Afghans. Across the country over 200 groups have been formed from among rebels who gave themselves up. They are helping to defend communities and industrial facilities. More than 2,000 former rebels have joined the militia in defending the democratic government. One hun-

Yet another bandit group captured and disarmed.



Nothing can hinder the triumphant new life in Afghanistan.

dred and seventy of them are in Kabul. I talked to some of the men and became convinced that they were really prepared to fight for a better future for their country.
Afghan counter-revolution has been greatly weakened after the army and security forces of the DRA routed the largest counter-revolutionary bands. In a bid to compensate for these losses, international reaction is taking measures to boost the morale of the bandits besides stepping up military and financial aid to them. An active role in this anti-Afghan campaign is played not only by the CIA and the Pentagon, but by the US President himself. He has sponsored all kinds of "societies" and so-called "Afghanistan Days", which are nothing but anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet actions. Taking its cue from its bosses, the entire Western media is making a tremendous effort to embellish the image of Afghan "mujaheddins", i.e. "fighters for a holy cause". But they are not fighting for

ideas. Their leaders are motivated only by greed, a rabid hate and a desire to wreak vengeance for their lost privileges. They have no forward-looking goal that could unite them and serve as a counterweight to the ideals of the April 1978 Revolution. As for their juggling with Islamic slogans, it is losing its force with each passing day because it is based on lies.

* * *

I left Kabul on an October morning. No traces of the bomb explosion could be seen at the airport. The damage had long been repaired by skilled Afghan workers, and those responsible for the bombing had been apprehended with the help of local people and were brought to justice.
A plane landed and a group of Afghans appeared in the customs inspection area. They had returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The women wore veils, while the men were in loose white robes. There were the usual bustle and commotion. It was just an ordinary day at Kabul Airport.

No matter how hard the enemies of the Afghan people may try to please their foreign bosses by disrupting the normal flow of life in the country, they will not succeed. Factories are working, harvests are being gathered, bazaars are seething with people, and children are running to school. One cannot hold back the triumphant new life in Afghanistan any more than one can stop the advent of another day.

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